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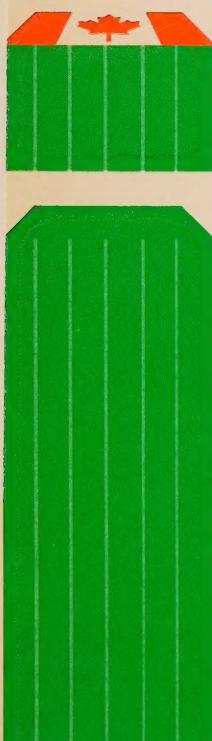

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Study.
[Background Study].
2: Aspects of Absorption and
Adaptation of Immigrants.



Aspects of the absorption and adaptation of immigrants

Anthony H. Richmond





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Aspects of the absorption and adaptation of immigrants

Anthony H. Richmond



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This study is one of several commissioned by the Canadian Immigration and Population Study. It is being published as a contribution to public understanding of the issues with which it deals. The contents of this study are entirely the responsibility of the author, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of Manpower and Immigration.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In preparing this report, I have drawn heavily on the studies carried out by myself and my colleagues in the Ethnic Research Programme of the Institute for Behavioural Research at York University. I should like to express my appreciation particularly to Karen Kaplan, John Goldlust and Brigitte Neumann for their assistance at various times. I have also made use of survey data from the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, and from a study carried out in Calgary and Edmonton by the Alberta Human Resources Council. These studies are deposited in the Data Bank of the Institute for Behavioural Research at York University. I am indebted to James Wirth of the Data Analysis division of the Institute for assistance in preparing tabulations from these surveys and to David Wilson of the Department of Sociology, York University for help in tabulating data from my own survey of Metropolitan Toronto. The latter was carried out in 1970 by the Survey Research Centre of York University.

Needless to say, the above acknowledgements do not detract from the entire responsibility accepted by the author for the opinions expressed in this report and any undetected errors of fact or interpretation. I am particularly grateful to my secretary, Irena Wodzianska, for working against the clock to prepare this report in draft and final forms.

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INTRODUCTION

Between 1946 and 1971, more than three and a half million immigrants entered Canada. At the time of the 1971 census, 2.3 million were still resident here. Allowing for death rates, this means that a little under one in three either returned home or moved on to a third country. This is indicative of an increasing trend throughout the post-war period. At the same time, there were Canadians who went abroad to live and work for varying periods, many returning in due course to Canada. Throughout the world, political and administrative controls on emigration and immigration have replaced geographic barriers as the volume and ease of air transportation has increased. The latter is now so cheap, or the credit toward its cost so easily arranged, that all countries of the world are within easy reach of each other. However, the world's population itself is not evenly distributed, nor is its wealth. Canada's high material standard of living and its seeming under-population, makes it an attractive destination for many people in less developed countries who seek to improve their own economic status and opportunities. At the same time, there is a substantial multi-way movement and exchange of population between the urban centres of industrially advanced societies, particularly of people in professional, managerial, and technical occupations.

Canada is experiencing rapid social change consequent upon shifts in the demographic balance, increased opportunities for higher education, and structural changes in the economy consequent upon technological innovation. It cannot be assumed that the conditions that have been favourable to the absorption of large numbers of immigrants in the last 25 years will continue in the last quarter of the twentieth century. We are moving rapidly into a post-industrial phase of development which is characterized by a number of interdependent changes. These include increasing speed of all forms of transportation and communication; the substitution of nuclear energy for other fuels; the use of automation in many manufacturing industries; and, the use of computers to replace much routine clerical, accounting, and computing work. Typical also is the substitution of machines, or various forms of mechanically assisted self-service, for the more menial types of drudgery in service and other industries. The demand for unskilled labour will decline and the need for well educated and highly trained people will increase in the future (Porter 1968; Richmond 1969).

The world's population is increasing at an exponential rate and is expected to double within 35 years unless drastic steps are taken everywhere, particularly in developing countries, to reduce fertility. Already, the distribution of population and wealth is very uneven and advanced countries consume a disproportionate share of non-renewable resources. The short-run consequences of any dislocation of international trade and restriction on the supply of oil, or other fundamental materials upon which industries depend, have already been observed following the Arab boycott of supplies to various countries. Such short-run difficulties provide dramatic warning of the economic crisis, and even total collapse, that could result from a failure in the long run to plan population growth, conserve resources and control pollution (Meadows and Meadows 1972; Cole, *et al.* 1973). However, the

dynamics of world population growth and resource consumption tend to overlook the problem of distribution. A large-scale movement of population from developing to advanced countries would do little to relieve the poverty in the former and could jeopardize the economic stability and complex welfare-oriented social systems of the latter. At the same time, steps must be taken to reverse present trends in which wealthy countries get richer as the poorer ones fall relatively farther and farther behind. If countries such as Canada are to move into the post-industrial phase of development, this must not be at the expense of the rest of the world, or the resulting international tension could be disastrous.

Canada is already capable of meeting almost all its own needs for highly qualified personnel with professional and technical qualifications. However, such people, whether trained here or elsewhere, tend to be highly mobile. Highly trained Canadians may wish to join other transilient migrants spending varying periods gaining experience and advancing careers abroad. Such migrants are themselves agents of the post-industrial revolution. They maintain an international network of communication through which technological and social innovations are achieved. They could do much to assist developing countries in the future. Canada would suffer if its own people could not freely travel and work abroad, when they so wish. By the same token, we shall continue to need highly qualified immigrants from abroad to replace, temporarily or permanently, Canadians who go elsewhere. We need "brain exchange" that favours the developing countries rather than the reverse, as has been the case to date (Adams 1968; Hekmati and Glaser 1973). There will continue to be a multi-way exchange of professional, managerial and technically qualified people between the major urban centres of the world. Every endeavour should be made to reduce the obstacles to their rapid absorption into the labour market in positions commensurate with their qualifications and to facilitate their social integration.

A successful immigration policy for Canada in the next few years should recognize that not all immigrants intend to settle permanently. There will continue to be an exchange of highly qualified personnel between urban centres both within and outside Canada. Some less skilled immigrants may also wish to come on a short-term basis, but maximum efforts should be made to ensure that they are not exploited. In this respect, labour unions have an important function to fulfil, in association with governments, who should diligently observe and raise labour standards and see that they are effectively enforced by law. At the same time, there will continue to be a need for a moderate flow of more permanent settlers with their families. There will be a need for greater efforts by federal, provincial and municipal governments, as well as by voluntary organizations, to assist such immigrants in the transition between their own society and full integration into Canada.

This study is concerned with the factors which have influenced the absorption of immigrants in Canada in the last 25 years. It cannot be assumed that immigrants will be simply assimilated in the wider society, eventually disappearing as distinctive individuals or groups. Canada itself is a bilingual, multicultural society further divided by regional and class differences. Over several generations, immigrants have made a distinctive contribution to the Canadian way of life and

have fitted into the Canadian kaleidoscope in a variety of different ways¹ (Burnet 1973). Just as there is no one "Canadian way of life" but many different styles related to region, language, religion, education and personal preference, so, also, there are many different modes of adaptation of immigrants to life in Canada.

The factors influencing the absorption of immigrants and their modes of adaptation may be considered under three main headings:

1. Situational influences in Canada which may vary according to time and place
2. The pre-migration characteristics and circumstances of the immigrants themselves
3. Length of residence in Canada and the effects of interaction with people born in Canada and with earlier groups of immigrants. These effects may be observed in the context of economic integration, acculturation, social integration, satisfaction with life, together with the degree of identification and commitment to Canada, exhibited by the immigrants themselves.

¹ I am indebted to Dr. Jean Burnet for suggesting that the term "kaleidoscope", which implies constant change, is a better metaphor with which to describe Canada's ethnic composition than the more static idea of a "mosaic".

SITUATIONAL FACTORS IN CANADA

The two decades following the end of the Second World War were particularly favourable to the absorption of large numbers of immigrants. Low birth rates in the inter-war period resulted in a relative shortage of young adults to fill the increasing number of positions in the labour force being created by a rapidly expanding economy. More than half the growth in the labour force in this period was provided by immigration. The absolute numbers of immigrants arriving each year was quite sensitive to fluctuations in levels of unemployment and rates of economic growth (Parai 1969; Marr 1972). Despite efforts in the immediate post-war period to direct immigrants into the agricultural labour force, in response to considerable pressure from farmers experiencing a shortage of labour, the majority of immigrants shared with those born in Canada a preference for living in urban and, particularly, large metropolitan areas. Three-quarters of all post-war immigrants eventually settled in the major metropolitan centres of Canada where their arrival coincided with a rapid growth in housing and employment opportunities. Immigrants themselves constituted a large part of the labour force in the expanding construction and manufacturing industries. Although, inevitably, there was some competition between immigrants and those born in Canada for employment (notably during periods of recession such as occurred in 1960-61 and again in 1971), the overall rate of economic growth, together with expanded opportunities for employment and upward mobility within Canada, facilitated their absorption. Unlike the situation in Britain, housing was not in short supply and did not generate serious problems of over-crowding, although there was some multiple occupation of dwellings in certain central city areas (Neumann *et al.* 1973).

Following the Second World War, Canada adopted a policy of actively promoting immigration, which was considered to be a desirable means of promoting population and economic growth. In the last decade, immigration has been more closely geared to manpower policies and to meeting specific labour force requirements, with less regard for demographic or social aspects. With the separation of the Citizenship Branch from the Department of Immigration in 1966, there was less opportunity to relate immigration to wider questions of long-term social integration, ethnic relations and multiculturalism. However, despite the emphasis on manpower needs, immigrants were encouraged to settle permanently and to nominate close relatives to join them later.

These policies contrasted with those adopted in some other countries such as Great Britain, France, and other countries of Western Europe. Although the latter sometimes experienced severe labour shortages that were filled by immigrants, these countries did not seek to encourage permanent settlement and were more restrictive in their immigration policies (Böhning 1972). However, Canadian immigration policies were not equally positive for all potential sending countries. Until a decade ago, a strong preference was given to immigrants from Great Britain and Western Europe. There was explicit discrimination against immigrants from Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and elsewhere. Although the formal basis of racial discrimination was removed after 1962, the geographic distribution of Canadian immigration offices

abroad, combined with the introduction of a "points" system of selection which favoured those with high educational and occupational qualifications, continued to ensure that the majority of immigrants entering the country were of European ethnic origin. Nevertheless, the proportion of Black and Asian immigrants entering annually increased from less than 3 per cent before 1966 to almost a quarter since 1970 (Cowan 1972).

Despite the deliberate promotion of immigration, government support for services designed to facilitate the adjustment and integration of immigrants has been limited. Compared with other countries of immigration such as Australia, and with some countries that have not encouraged immigration such as Britain, the quantity and quality of services designed to assist immigrants in Canada have been low. As Freda Hawkins has put it, "It is evident now that the critical questions in Canadian immigration today are still a problem of responsibility at the federal level and the need for much greater federal, provincial and community collaboration in the provision of services for immigrants" (Hawkins 1972, p. 369).

It has been noted that there are important regional, linguistic and cultural differences in Canada and that these are likely to influence the absorption and adaptation of immigrants. The situation in Quebec has differed substantially from Ontario and other parts of Canada. Even within the English-speaking provinces, there was a considerable variation. Economic and social conditions in the Maritime provinces were less favourable to immigrant absorption. More than half the post-war immigrants settled in Ontario. Metropolitan Toronto, in particular, changed from a predominantly "white Anglo-Saxon Protestant" area to one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world. As a consequence of post-war immigration, more than half the household heads in Metropolitan Toronto in 1971 were foreign-born. This gave rise to a marked degree of cultural pluralism and institutional complexity.

Some immigrant groups in Toronto are relatively self-sufficient in terms of professional and business services, cultural and recreational facilities, newspapers, radio and television, welfare organizations, churches and, in a few cases, schools (full or part-time) dedicated to cultural and language maintenance (Richmond 1967a). Other metropolitan areas of Canada, although having a high proportion of immigrants, do not exhibit such marked degrees of structural and cultural pluralism. Nevertheless, the fact that 29 per cent of the population of Canada is French-speaking and that there are two official languages, predisposed successive governments toward some accommodation to the special needs and interests of national, linguistic and religious minorities (Richmond 1969a).

Since the Second World War, the federal government has had a Citizenship branch engaged in liaison work with immigrant organizations and subsequently the Ontario provincial government also established a similar department concerned with facilitating the integration of ethnic minorities into the community. The recommendations of Book IV of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and the subsequent policies adopted by the federal and some provincial governments have resulted in the official promulgation of a policy of "multiculturalism." This is in marked contrast with the United States at the turn of the century, or with Britain or Australia today, where a greater emphasis has been placed upon the ultimate assimilation of immigrants into an essentially monolingual and British cultural tradition. However, despite the encouragements given by the Canadian government to immigration and to multiculturalism with its

assumption of ethnic tolerance and equality of treatment, it does not follow that Canada is free from racial and ethnic prejudice or that, in practice, all ethnic groups in Canada are equal.

Immigrants entering Canada find a society that is already stratified on ethnic lines (Porter 1965). Canadians may exhibit less overt class consciousness than Britain and western European countries, which have more powerfully entrenched aristocracies and social elites. However, income and inherited wealth, together with the economic and political power which they afford, are not equitably distributed in Canada. The native-born Indian, Eskimo and Black populations have experienced a cycle of poverty that has persisted for many generations. French-Canadians and some other ethnic minorities have more recently moved from rural areas and occupations to the urban industrial spheres where they still earn less, on average, than Canadians of British ethnic origin. Opportunities for advancement in public service and the private sector for those whose mother tongue is not English, have been restricted although these differences have probably declined in the last decade. Educational opportunity has been uneven, particularly comparing working with middle classes and urban with rural areas. This has tended to increase the degree of ethnic stratification (Porter *et al.* 1973).

The fact that post-war immigration to Canada has consisted of two major streams, differentiated by educational level, has further reinforced the association between economic status and ethnicity. Immigrants from Britain, the United States and Western Europe have usually been independent immigrants who have qualified on the basis of their educational and occupational qualifications. Immigrants from southern Europe have more often been nominated by close relatives and have not had to fulfill such stringent requirements. As a consequence, immigration has tended to perpetuate and reinforce the existing association between ethnic origin and socio-economic status (Richmond 1967b, p. 125).

Attitudes to Immigration in Canada

Although there has been no strong opposition from organized labour or from any other sections of the population toward immigration, the attitude of Canadians generally toward continued immigration and changes in immigration policy, has been distinctly ambivalent. A separate study carried out by the Department of Manpower and Immigration has reviewed the evidence from various public opinion surveys concerning an optimal size for Canada's population and the numbers of immigrants that people feel should be admitted to Canada (Tienhaara 1974). Therefore, it is unnecessary to repeat the evidence here, but the main conclusions will be summarized and related to other pertinent questions concerning ethnic preferences and racial prejudice.

Whereas 25 years ago most people thought that Canada needed a larger population and that immigration should be encouraged to achieve this, the majority of Canadians today believe that our population is about the right size. There is greater consensus on this question today and fewer differences by sex, age, region or education. More than half the adult population believes that there are enough immigrants or too many and less than a third consider that immigration should be increased. Immigrants themselves are generally more favourable to further immigration than people born in Canada. Most people are opposed to a mass influx

of immigrants but would favour limited, selected immigration so long as the employment situation was favourable. Opposition to immigration is strongest among unskilled workers.

Historically, Canada has not been entirely free of racial and ethnic prejudice. Traditionally, there has been suspicion between the Anglophone and Francophone sections of the population, but this has not been as marked as the prejudice against non-white minorities, including the Canadian Indian and Canadian Black, together with immigrant Asian groups and their Canadian-born descendants. During and after the two World Wars, there was also some hostility to those who were identified as "enemy aliens." In some cases, this extended to the Canadian-born descendants of those with Japanese, German or Italian ancestry. Anti-Asian feeling was always strongest in British Columbia and reached its peak with the almost hysterical antipathy toward the Japanese after Pearl Harbour and the invasion of Hong Kong in December, 1941 (LaViolette 1948). In more recent years, attitudes toward racial and ethnic minorities in Canada appear to have improved, but it cannot be assumed that these latent antipathies have altogether disappeared.

Further questions were asked in the Metropolitan Toronto Survey which throw light on questions of racial and ethnic prejudice. A Bogardus social-distance scale was used to ascertain the extent to which certain ethnic groups were acceptable as relatives by marriage, neighbours, citizens, etc. Questions were asked concerning 10 different ethnic groups and their rank order of acceptability was as follows: 1) American, 2) French-Canadian, 3) Polish, 4) German, 5) Italian, 6) Canadian Indian, 7) Jewish, 8) Japanese, 9) Hindu, 10) Negro. However, compared with the findings of similar studies carried out in other countries, even the Black and Asian groups were quite socially acceptable in Toronto. This is shown in Table 2.1, where the results are compared with recent studies carried out in the Netherlands and England respectively. Comparisons are made between the acceptability of French, Black and East Indian minorities. It is not surprising to find that the French were more acceptable, both as relatives by marriage and as neighbours, in Canada than in either the Netherlands or England, although the differences are small. The Black (Negro) group is more acceptable as a relative by marriage in the Netherlands than in either England or Toronto. However, in contrast to both England and the Netherlands, Blacks are acceptable to the majority of people as neighbours in Toronto. Asians, as indicated by responses to questions concerning Hindu and Japanese, are more accepted in Toronto as marriage partners than Blacks; they are also quite acceptable as neighbours. This is in marked contrast with England, where the Pakistani group, particularly, is even less acceptable as a relative by marriage, or as a neighbour, than the Black (Bagley 1973, p. 203).

Further confirmation that Canadians are generally more ready to accept coloured neighbours than residents of Britain, the United States and some other countries, is provided by two national studies carried out by the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion in 1963 and again in 1969. There was very little change over this period in the attitudes expressed, despite the fact that the actual numbers of Black and Asian immigrants admitted to the country increased after 1966. However, the survey was not large enough to permit comparison between cities or localities with coloured immigrants and those without. Two questions were asked. The first enquired, "If coloured people came to live next door, would you move your home?" Nine out of every 10 Canadians said they would not. The respondents were further

TABLE 2.1
COMPARISON BETWEEN CANADA, BRITAIN AND THE NETHERLANDS IN DEGREE OF
ACCEPTABILITY OF SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS AS RELATIVES BY
MARRIAGE OR AS NEIGHBOURS

	Canada*	Britain**	Netherlands***
	%	%	%
Accept French person as relative by marriage or neighbour	80	75	67
Accept French person as neighbour only	15	10	17
Accept French person as relative or neighbour	5	15	16
Total	100	100	100
Accept East Indian person as relative by marriage or neighbour	40	20	42
Accept East Indian person as neighbour only	50	17	23
Not accept East Indian person as relative or neighbour	10	63	35
Total	100	100	100
Accept Black person (Negro) as relative by marriage	33	34	48
Accept Black person (Negro) as neighbour only	54	17	24
Not accept Black person (Negro) as relative or neighbour	13	49	28
Total	100	100	100

* Metropolitan Toronto survey of householders, 1970; based on 3,218 respondents

** Survey conducted by Dr. Christopher Bagley in an urban area of southern England, 1971;
based on 206 respondents

*** Survey carried out by Netherlands Institute of Public Opinion, 1969; based on 416
respondents in urban and rural areas of the Netherlands

Source: Institute of Behavioural Research, York University, and Christopher Bagley, *The Dutch Plural Society*, London, Oxford University Press, 1973, p. 203

asked, "Would you move if coloured people came to live in great numbers in your district?" Six out of 10 Canadians said they would not, a quarter said that they might, and only 14 per cent were definite that they would move in those circumstances. Both studies confirmed that the major differences within the Canadian population were by age and education. There was a clear increase by age in the proportion who thought they would move if a coloured family came next door, or if many coloured families moved into the neighbourhood. This is indicated in Table 2.2. The association with education was more complex, with those in the lowest and the highest educational categories being more inclined to move than among those with nine to 13 years of education. Among other things, the results suggest that, if Black and Asian immigration to Canada continues on a significant scale, every effort should be made to ensure that there is a reasonable residential dispersal and an avoidance of too rapid or large a concentration of coloured immigrants in any one area.

TABLE 2.2
NATIONAL SAMPLE SURVEY, 1969*

Probability of moving if a coloured family came to live next door, or if great numbers of coloured people came to live in own district, by age

Next Door	Age In Years				
	21-29	30-39	40-49	50 or over	TOTAL
Yes, definitely	2	2	3	7	4
Maybe	2	5	7	8	6
No, would not	96	93	90	85	90
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Great Numbers in District					
Yes, definitely	9	11	17	17	14
Maybe	17	27	31	26	25
No, would not	74	62	52	57	61
Total	100	100	100	100	100

* Canadian Institute of Public Opinion Survey, May 1969; based on 719 respondents

Source: Institute for Behavioural Research, York University

Further analyses of the attitude questions put to male household heads in Toronto threw some light on the characteristics of those who were most likely to accept or reject members of other ethnic groups in close social relationships, such as the family and neighbourhood. Francophone Canadians were slightly more likely to be anti-semitic than others and to express other types of ethnic prejudice although

Anglophone Canadians also tended to score higher than average on the Bogardus scale, as did immigrants from Italy, Portugal, Greece and Poland. Low prejudice was characteristic of Canadians whose mother tongue was neither English nor French and immigrants from Britain, Germany and the U.S.A., but this appears to be mainly attributable to the higher education of these immigrant groups.

There were important differences between the Canadian and the foreign-born, and between the English-speaking majority and members of minority linguistic and religious groups in the interpretation which should be placed on social distance measures. For the latter, the maintenance of social distance, particularly the desire to discourage mixed marriages, was part of the process of preserving their own heritage and distinctive identity. It was most marked in the case of Canadians of Jewish and Slavic origin and among immigrants whose mother tongue was not English. The majority of English-speaking Canadians who did not wish to have members of other ethnic groups as relatives by marriage, or as neighbours, were expressing an ethnic prejudice that did not have the same realistic basis. Ethnic and racial prejudices may be activated by objective conditions of competition or threat but they are known also to have their roots in personality factors, authoritarianism being a major component (Adorno 1950).

In the Metropolitan Toronto Survey, a scale was devised to measure the underlying propensity to express ethnic and racial prejudice. Among Canadian and foreign-born householders, education and age proved to be the most important determinants of a prejudiced disposition. The older and the less well educated respondents were the most prejudice-prone and the most likely to reject other ethnic groups as neighbours. The highest scores on the Bogardus social distance and prejudice scales were obtained by Greek and Portuguese immigrants. It is probably not a coincidence that some recent Black and Asian immigrants have settled in areas that also have concentrations of Greek and Portuguese families in Toronto. A combination of age, education, economic insecurity, desire to maintain ethnic identity and a feeling of some situational threat and competition from the coloured immigrants, may explain the somewhat greater antipathy expressed by the Greek and Portuguese householders toward racial minorities. A combination of higher education, greater economic security and the absence of any direct competition or feeling of threat would account for the greater tolerance expressed by other groups.

Individuals who are prejudice-prone do not necessarily translate their latent feelings into overt expressions of hostility toward ethnic minorities. Whether they do so or not will depend upon various situational determinants, including the climate of opinion in the social circles in which they mix. Furthermore, whether members of ethnic minority groups experience discrimination may be independent of the question of attitudes toward them. When discrimination is built into the law or deeply entrenched social customs, it may persist despite favourable attitudes. By the same token, unfavourable attitudes may not be translated into discrimination when there is effective machinery for the administration of human rights and other legislation designed to curb unfair employment or other practices. Such machinery exists in Ontario, but not effectively in all provinces.

In the Metropolitan Toronto Survey, questions were asked concerning the perception and experience of ethnic discrimination in Canada. A scale was devised as follows: 1) those who considered there was no ethnic discrimination in Canada, 2) those who considered there was ethnic discrimination, but not against their own

TABLE 2.3
METROPOLITAN TORONTO SURVEY OF HOUSEHOLDERS, 1970†

Perception of discrimination in Canada by generation and birthplace (Males only)

	None %	None against own group %	Discrimination against own group but not self %	Personal experience of discrimination %	Total %
Born in Canada					
Both parents born Canada	28	54	3	15	100
One parent foreign-born	18	63	5	14	100
Both parents foreign-born	20	57	7	16	100
Foreign-Born					
English mother tongue*	40	48	2	10	100
Slavic mother tongue**	52	19	7	22	100
Jewish***	36	16	22	26	100
Italian mother tongue	64	12	9	15	100
West European****	33	32	6	29	100
Greek & Portuguese mother tongue	63	11	12	14	100
Other mother tongues	49	15	14	22	100
Black & Asian-†	32	7	19	42	100
Total	36	41	6	17	100

* Excludes Jewish, Black, or Asian with English mother tongue

** Excludes Slavic speakers of Jewish origin

*** Those reporting Jewish religion, or if 'no religion' reported, parent's religion was Jewish

**** Includes German, French, Dutch or Scandinavian mother tongue

† Interviewer's designation and / or Asian mother tongue

† Stratified Sample Survey based on 2,760 male respondents

Source: Institute for Behavioural Research, York University

group, 3) those who considered that there was ethnic discrimination against their own group, but that they had not personally experienced it, 4) those who claimed personal experience of ethnic discrimination in spheres such as employment, housing, public accommodations, relations with the police, etc. The distribution of household heads by birthplace and generation on this scale is shown in Table 2.3. It will be noted that Italian, Greek and Portuguese immigrants were those most likely to perceive no discrimination in Canada. They were followed by Slavic and other immigrants whose mother tongue was not English. Those born in Canada, irrespective of generation, and immigrants whose mother tongue was English, were most likely to recognize that there was discrimination in Canada but to consider that their own group was not subject to it. Altogether, 17 per cent of Toronto householders reported personal experience of discrimination in one or more spheres. Those *least* likely to report personal experience of discrimination were immigrants whose mother tongue was English. A slightly higher proportion of those born in Canada reported personal experience of discrimination and this reflects the experience of those Jewish, Black, Asian, French and other minorities who are Canadian-born. By far the largest proportion claiming personal experience of discrimination were Black and Asian immigrants. They were followed by Jewish, Slavic, and western European immigrants. When Canadian- and foreign-born householders are considered together, by racial origin and type of discrimination experienced, it is evident that the Black population (including in this case the Canadian Indian) is particularly liable to experience discrimination in housing and employment. This is shown in Table 2.4, which indicates that 10 per cent of all Toronto householders, compared with 25 per cent of Asian and 36 per cent of the Black, report personal experiences of discrimination in *employment*. This compares with 4 per cent of the total, 13 per cent of Asian and 38 per cent of Black respondents who reported discrimination in *housing*.

TABLE 2.4
METROPOLITAN TORONTO SURVEY OF HOUSEHOLDERS, 1970*

Per cent personally experiencing discrimination by type of discrimination and race
(Canadian and foreign-born)

Type of Discrimination	Black %	Asian %	White %	Total %
Employment	36	25	9	10
Housing	38	13	3	4
Hotels, bars, etc.	7	8	1	2
Police	6	7	2	3
Other types	16	6	3	3

* Stratified sample based on 3,218 respondents

Source: Institute for Behavioural Research, York University

Similar questions were asked in the 1971 Calgary and Edmonton survey, in which 37 per cent of all respondents considered that there was no ethnic discrimination in Alberta and 21 per cent reported that they personally had experienced discrimination, a proportion slightly higher than that reported in Toronto. Approximately one in four Canadian-born compared with one in five immigrant householders in these cities reported personal experience of discrimination (Inform 1971).

Irrespective of racial or ethnic origin, recently arrived immigrants are particularly likely to experience some discrimination with regard to the recognition of their professional and technical qualifications. In many cases, immigrants are required to undertake further studies and to "upgrade" their qualifications before recognition in Canada. In other cases, employers insist upon immigrants gaining "Canadian experience" before they will employ them. The problem is most acute in the medical and health professions, architecture, teaching, social work, and some technical trades. Immigrants also experience problems in gaining admission to some labour unions, particularly where a closed shop or hiring-hall agreement exists. In some cases, initiation fees are beyond the means of recently arrived immigrants. These problems have been examined by the Department of Manpower and Immigration and are the subject of separate reports (Manpower and Immigration 1971; 1972). Qualifications obtained in some countries, particularly the United States and Great Britain, are generally more acceptable than those obtained elsewhere. Generally speaking, the higher the educational and occupational qualifications of the immigrant, the more likely it is that he will experience some initial status dislocation and the longer it would take to recover his former position.

PRE-MIGRATION CHARACTERISTICS OF IMMIGRANTS

The extent to which any country is able to absorb an immigrant population and the ways in which the immigrants themselves adapt will depend, partly, upon the kinds of people they are. Canada has always exercised a substantial degree of control over the characteristics of its immigrants. Through the operation of the Immigration Act and the regulations approved by Order-in-Council under the terms of the Act, certain categories of people have been excluded altogether; others have been given preferred status and there has been positive promotion in some sending countries, which has encouraged migration to Canada. Other categories have been admitted under special circumstances. These include those nominated by close relatives in Canada and others who have come as refugees, or under other auspices, as part of the "humanitarian" stream. Only between 1967 and 1972, when visitors entering Canada were allowed to apply for landed-immigrant status after arrival, did Canada even approach an "open-door" policy with regard to immigration. Except for Canadian-born citizens of the country, it has always been held that admission to Canada is never a right but a privilege within the prerogative of the Crown, exercised by the Minister of Immigration. Therefore, it would be fair to say that immigrants who have been legally admitted were of Canada's own choosing.

Statistics of immigration by birthplace and country of last permanent residence tend to reflect the ethnic preferences that prevailed, particularly in the first two decades after the end of the Second World War. Of three and a half million immigrants admitted up to 1972, 26.5 per cent came from Great Britain, 12.7 per cent from Italy, 9.5 per cent from the United States, 8.7 per cent from West Germany, and 4.9 per cent from the Netherlands. Altogether, nearly two-thirds of those admitted came from Britain, the United States or western Europe. Underlying these figures is an assumption, spelled out by one Minister of Immigration in 1955, who stated in the House of Commons:

We try to select as immigrants those who will have to change their ways least in order to adapt themselves to Canadian life and to contribute to the development of the Canadian nation. This is why entry into Canada is virtually free to citizens of the United Kingdom, the United States, and France so long as they have good health and good characters. That is why deliberate preference is shown for immigrants from countries with political and social institutions similar to our own (*Debates of the House of Commons*, 1955, p. 1254).

This assumption and the policy conclusions drawn from it have not been fully supported by experience. In fact, the studies of post-war immigrants in Canada and of the return movement to the former country support the view that *return migration* tends to be highest among "those who will have to change their ways least in order to adapt themselves." There is some truth in the proposition "easy come easy go" Immigrants who have first to make a major effort to adapt themselves, once they have overcome initial difficulties, tend to put down roots and be more likely to stay permanently. Furthermore, "when other things were equal" (in terms of education, a prior knowledge or subsequent acquisition of English or French, and length of residence), ethnic variation in economic achievement and social integration tends to

be minimal. The adoption in 1967 of a "points system" of admissibility to Canada, in which racial and ethnic factors were not taken into account, went a long way to recognizing the irrelevance of national origin. However, residual elements of ethnic preference remain in the geographic distribution of immigration offices and the facilities for processing applications abroad.

Auspices of and Motivation for Migration

The auspices under which immigrants came to Canada varied considerably. Almost half of all those entering the country were immediate dependants (wife, children and other close relatives), the majority of whom were not planning to enter the labour force. There were three main streams of the labour-force immigrants. Firstly, there were independent or "open-placement" immigrants who qualified on the basis of their educational and occupational qualifications. The second mainstream consisted of those nominated by close relatives who, before 1967, were not required to fulfil any occupational or skill requirements and, after that date, were admitted with lower qualifications than those in the independent stream. Although precise statistics are not available, it is estimated that one in three of all labour force immigrants were in the nominated category. The third mainstream was the refugee category. Displaced persons and those in refugee camps immediately after the Second World War, together with Hungarian, Czechoslovakian, and Ugandan Asian groups have been the major sources of refugees or expellees. Approximately one in 10 of labour force immigrants entering Canada since the end of the Second World War were refugees.

The direct effects upon his subsequent absorption and mode of adaptation of the auspices under which an immigrant entered Canada, was less important than might have been expected. Such differences as existed could be attributed to the different levels of education of the immigrants concerned. The effects of education on adaptation will be discussed in more detail below. Largely because of the impossibility, for most refugees, of returning to the former country, they tended to exhibit greater commitment to Canada than other immigrants. They were also somewhat more likely to be involved in ethnic organizations. In almost all other respects, auspices were less important than the motivation for migration and the original intentions with regard to permanent settlement.

Many immigrants had mixed motives for migrating but various surveys have shown that only a little more than half were mainly concerned with improving their economic circumstances or material standards of living. Surprisingly, this motive, rather than the desire to be with relatives, was predominant among the nominated immigrants. Political reasons for migration were predictably frequent among refugees, but not confined to this category. A desire to live near relatives and close friends, or both, was a reason for migration given by about 14 per cent, as well as for ultimate return to the former country for many. Approximately one in 10 of all immigrants entering Canada did so because of a desire for adventure, travel, etc. and about the same proportion firmly intended to leave Canada again after a relatively short period of time. Less than half expected, unconditionally, to remain in Canada, while the rest, though originally undecided, were influenced in their eventual decision by their actual experiences in this country. It has been noted that almost one in three did not settle permanently, from which it can be deduced that

approximately half of those who, at first, were undecided, eventually chose to stay.

The sex ratio of immigrants to Canada in the post-war period was approximately equal. The labour force participation rate of immigrant women, both married and single, was higher than that for women born here. The immigrants were similar to those in other parts of the world, and to internal migrants, in being mainly young adults. Half were in the age group 15 to 35 years; only 13 per cent were older than this, the remainder being dependent children. Arrival in Canada as a child proved to be an important factor contributing to rapid acculturation and high economic achievement. Middle-aged and elderly immigrants experienced a much greater difficulty in adaptation, particularly when their education was low (Goldlust and Richmond 1974).

Fifty-nine per cent of male immigrants and 50 per cent of all female immigrants were single on arrival. The large majority of those who remained in Canada subsequently married. The evidence from the Metropolitan Toronto Survey suggested that those who married someone born in Canada, or an immigrant of a different ethnic background, acculturated more rapidly than those who were married already or who married someone of similar linguistic and cultural background.

Because of the age and sex distribution, immigrants made an important contribution to population growth in Canada by natural increase. Detailed studies of the fertility of immigrants by nationality, compared with the Canadian-born, have not been undertaken. However, more than half post-war immigrants settling permanently in Canada were Roman Catholic. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the overall fertility rates were high.

The Effect of Education

Immigrants who arrived as children and those who were obliged to obtain further education in order to obtain recognition of their occupational qualifications, received some education in this country. However, the large majority of immigrants had terminated their education by the time they arrived here. As has been noted, education itself was correlated with auspices of immigration, which in turn was related to the countries and regions of origin. A large proportion of the less educated immigrants came from rural areas and had little experience of urban life before migration. However, the evidence suggests that prior experience of urban living itself was less important than education in determining subsequent modes of adaptation.

A national survey, conducted in 1961, drew attention to the importance of education:

The key to the successful economic, cultural, and social integration of immigrants speaking neither English nor French in Canada would appear to be the level of education of the immigrant on entry to the country. Those with higher educational and professional qualifications experienced some difficulties here, but these might have been reduced if a less restrictive attitude had been adopted by Canadian professional associations. More serious difficulties were experienced by those with a low level of education. Immigrants with less than nine years of education or its equivalent had greater difficulty in learning English or French, were less likely to have

close friends who were Canadian-born or to belong to Canadian associations, and were more likely to experience prolonged unemployment. At the same time it should be noted that immigrants with little education were often more satisfied with life in Canada and more inclined to become citizens than those with superior educational qualifications (Richmond 1967, p. 256).

More recent studies have confirmed the importance of education and its differential effect on what might be called the "objective" and "subjective" aspects of immigrant adaptation. The former includes economic achievement, acculturation (including learning English or French for those who do not speak one of the official languages), and integration at the secondary level in formal organizations, voluntary associations, etc. The subjective aspects include satisfaction with life in Canada, a feeling of identification with Canada, and commitment to it with regard to permanent residence and citizenship, as well as social integration at the primary level of family and local community relationships.

The evidence from the Metropolitan Toronto Survey suggests that education is positively associated with all aspects of objective adaptation, but negatively associated with the subjective aspects. In other words, the better educated the immigrant on arrival, the more likely he is to achieve a high occupational status and income (notwithstanding some initial status dislocation). He will also learn one or both of the official languages more quickly and in other ways become acculturated to Canadian society, including the attitudes, values, and behavioural norms of the area in which he settles. The better educated immigrant is more likely to become active in a variety of voluntary associations and make use of recreational and other facilities. At the same time, the better educated immigrant is less likely to settle permanently in Canada, is often more critical and less satisfied with his life in this country; he is also less likely to be identified with and committed to life in Canada. Although there is some variation by nationality, generally speaking, better educated immigrants are also less inclined to become naturalized Canadian citizens, unless there is some pressure upon them to do so for professional or other reasons. Many of the differences which, at first sight, might be attributable to national or ethnic origin are due to the differential distribution of education by ethnicity.

The distribution of the Metropolitan Toronto sample by years of education and ethno-linguistic group is shown in Table 3.1. Educational level and the possession of post-secondary certificates and degrees were closely correlated, but the latter proved to be an additional independent predictor of occupational status and social mobility. Toronto householders born in Canada had an average of 12 years and foreign-born householders 10.3 years of education. Immigrants with English mother tongue and the western European category have approximately the same mean education as the Canadian-born. The recent Black and Asian immigrants had the highest average education of all householders in Toronto. This reflects the recency of this immigration, the application of the "points system", and the high degree of selectivity involved in the admission of Black and Asian immigrants. The lowest education was achieved by Italian, Greek, and Portuguese immigrants, the majority of whom were nominated by close relatives. Closely related to the level of education was the degree of prior urbanization, as indicated by the last place of permanent residence abroad. More than 70 per cent of those with English mother tongue, together with the Jewish, Black and Asian immigrants, had come from a large city. In contrast, almost a third of the Greek, Portuguese, Italian and Slavic immigrants

came from a village or farm, compared with an average of 16 per cent for all foreign-born householders.

When education, length of residence in Toronto, and other relevant factors were taken into account, immigrant householders in Toronto, as a whole, earned approximately the same as Canadian-born householders with similar background and qualifications. However, there was significant variation within the foreign-born group. Although the average earnings of Italian householders were low, these corresponded with income predicted on the basis of age, education, etc. Jewish immigrants and those whose mother tongue was English earned more than would be expected, while those with Slavic mother tongue, together with the Black and Asian group, earned less than the predicted level. In view of the previous evidence concerning self-reported discrimination by Black and Asian immigrants, it is reasonable to suppose that their lower than expected earnings, given a very high average education, was due to discrimination and possibly an assumed lack of "Canadian experience" (Goldlust and Richmond 1973a).

TABLE 3.1
METROPOLITAN TORONTO SURVEY, 1970*

MEAN AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF YEARS OF EDUCATION BY
BIRTHPLACE AND ETHNICITY

	Mean (years)	0-5 %	6-9 %	10-11 %	12-13 %	14-15 %	16+ %	Total %
Born in Canada								
Both parents native-born	12.3	4	21	22	22	6	25	100
One parent foreign-born	11.9	0	28	18	26	7	21	100
Both parents foreign-born	11.5	2	27	24	26	5	16	100
Foreign-Born								
English mother tongue	12.3	1	14	40	16	8	21	100
Slavic mother tongue	9.2	19	38	12	11	9	11	100
Jewish	9.8	16	24	31	14	3	12	100
Italian mother tongue	6.3	53	34	7	4	1	1	100
Western European mother tongue	12.2	3	17	23	26	9	22	100
Greek & Portuguese mother tongue	7.7	30	41	9	12	3	5	100
Other mother tongue	11.4	9	26	11	23	11	20	100
Asian / Black	13.3	2	14	16	26	6	36	100
All Native-born	12.0	3	24	22	24	6	22	100
All Foreign-born	10.3	17	24	23	15	6	15	100
Total	11.1	10	24	23	19	6	18	100

* Stratified sample based on 2,760 respondents (males only)

Source: Institute for Behavioural Research, York University

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE AND THE PROCESS OF ADAPTATION

The longer an immigrant resides in Canada the better adapted he is, by most criteria. This does not mean that the special needs and problems of immigrants disappear after the first year or two. Many continue to experience language and other difficulties throughout their life. Retirement and old age can be more traumatic for an immigrant, particularly if he or she lacks the support of a family in Canada. The children of some immigrants may experience economic or cultural deprivations and other handicaps that persist beyond the first generation. Nevertheless, it would be true to say that some of the most difficult problems of adjustment are experienced in the first few months after arrival in Canada. The nature and incidence of initial adjustment difficulties were examined in the Metropolitan Toronto Survey, 1970 and in the Calgary and Edmonton Survey, 1971. The latter also asked inter-provincial migrants, who had come to Alberta since 1946, to report their adjustment problems. The latter provides an interesting basis of comparison with post-war immigrants, living in those cities, and with all immigrant householders living in Toronto. Table 4.1 shows the type of problem reported, distinguishing between immigrants born in Britain and those born elsewhere. It is evident that for those not born in Britain (or other English-speaking countries), language difficulties are the most common. They are mentioned by between 50 and 60 per cent of all non-British foreign-born householders in all three cities.

After language problems, finding employment was the most frequently reported difficulty. Inter-provincial migrants had least difficulty in this respect and non-British immigrants in Toronto the most. British immigrants in Alberta reported employment difficulties more often than those in Toronto. The Canadian way of life generally presented problems to the British more often in Alberta (which may have had something to do with climate) and to the non-British in Toronto, where adjusting to life in a big city was difficult for some. A little over one in 10 of all immigrants, in these two surveys, reported difficulties with housing, the British in Toronto being least likely to do so. However, Toronto's housing problems are likely to be more serious in the future. Loneliness was most acute among the British in Alberta and the non-British in Toronto.

A more detailed examination by birthplace of the frequency with which initial adjustment difficulties were experienced by immigrants in Toronto is shown in Table 4.2. It is not surprising to find that immigrants from Britain and other English-speaking countries were most likely to report no problems at all (it must be kept in mind that this group was also the most inclined to re-migrate). The most severe initial adjustment problems were reported by those born in Greece, Portugal, Italy and the U.S.S.R. Altogether, 10 per cent of the sample reported four or more initial adjustment problems and the overall mean was 1.4 problems per immigrant householder. The distribution of the mean number of problems reported by mother tongue, age of arrival and education is shown in Chart 4.1. It is evident that not speaking English is the major determinant of the incidence of problems reported. Age on arrival, by itself, does not make a substantial difference. However, when

TABLE 4.1
TYPE OF INITIAL ADJUSTMENT PROBLEM REPORTED BY BIRTHPLACE AND LOCATION
OF MIGRANT

Birthplace:	Percentage of Migrants Reporting Problems.				
	Metro Toronto		Calgary and Edmonton		
	Britain	Elsewhere	Canada*	Britain**	Elsewhere**
Getting a job	11	32	9	25	21
Somewhere to live	4	13	13	14	11
English language	1	59	2	2	56
Canadian customs and way of life	2	21	3	24	13
Big city life	1	13	6	7	4
Loneliness	10	28	14	30	20
Other problems	4	9	12	17	11

* Inter-provincial migrants born outside Alberta

** Post-war immigrants only

Source: Metropolitan Toronto Survey, 1970 (based on 1,939 foreign-born male respondents) and Alberta Human Resources Council Survey, 1971 (based on approximately 650 respondents excluding those born in Alberta), Institute for Behavioural Research, York University

education is taken into account, there are significant differences by age. *The older the immigrant is on arrival the more important is the effect of education on the number of initial adjustment problems experienced.* The most frequent reporting of problems is by those whose mother tongue is not English, who were over 25 years of age on arrival and had nine years of education or less. Irrespective of mother tongue, those who were 36 years or more on arrival and who had 14 years or more of education, reported the fewest problems.

Employment and Occupational Mobility

Whatever the original motive for migration, obtaining employment, preferably commensurate with the immigrant's education and qualifications, is an essential ingredient in the process of adaptation to life in Canada. This applies even to those who do not intend to settle permanently. The national sample survey conducted in 1961 showed that the large majority of immigrants experienced some degree of occupational status dislocation. Status dislocation was defined as "any change of social position consequent upon geographic movement and either necessitated or facilitated by it." Therefore, the term includes both upward and downward

TABLE 4.2
METROPOLITAN TORONTO SURVEY, 1970*

NUMBER OF INITIAL ADJUSTMENT PROBLEMS REPORTED BY BIRTHPLACE

Birthplace	Distribution by Number of Problems Reported						
	0 %	1 %	2 %	3 %	4 %	5 or more %	Total %
Great Britain	70	20	8	2	0	0	100
Other English speaking countries	56	15	23	4	2	0	100
Germany	15	22	30	22	9	2	100
Italy	11	24	28	19	13	5	100
Portugal and Greece	9	12	32	23	13	11	100
U.S.S.R.	12	22	23	21	15	7	100
Poland	18	24	28	18	7	5	100
Other Slavic countries	12	26	37	15	5	5	100
Other countries (not English mother tongue)	16	42	24	10	6	2	100
Total	30	24	23	13	7	3	100

* Stratified sample based on 1,939 respondents (foreign-born male householders only)

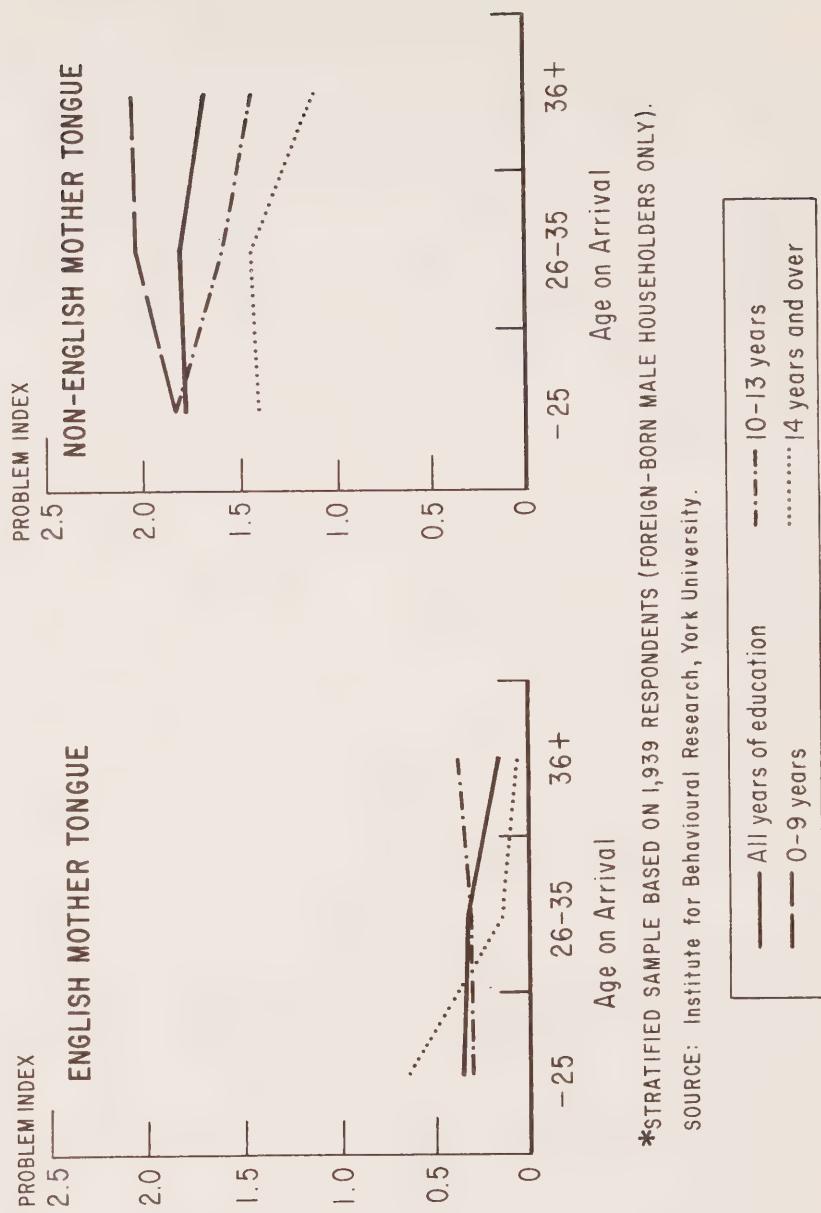
Source: Institute for Behavioural Research, York University

movements in terms of the status of the occupation pursued by the immigrant. The study showed that status dislocation had an important influence on the way in which immigrants regarded their life in Canada and was related to level of satisfaction, citizenship intentions, and the propensity to return to the former country. Return migration was more likely to occur in the case of those who had retained the same occupational status in Canada as in the former country, without experiencing any upward or downward movement.

The national study also showed that there were differences between immigrants from the United Kingdom and other countries, as well as differences between those in manual and non-manual employment, in the patterns of occupational mobility following migration. Largely as a consequence of language problems and non-recognition of qualifications, immigrants from other countries were more likely than those from Britain to experience initial downward mobility and less likely to make a full recovery. Irrespective of nationality, the higher the education of the immigrant the more likely he was to experience some initial drop in status but, also, the more likely he was to recover or improve upon his former position. This was again found to be true, in the more recent Toronto study, as shown in Chart 4.2. Using the Blishen index of occupational prestige, three sets of comparisons are indicated: firstly, between occupation in former country and first occupation in Canada; secondly, occupation in former country and occupation at the time of the survey; thirdly, between first occupation in Canada and occupation at time of survey. These

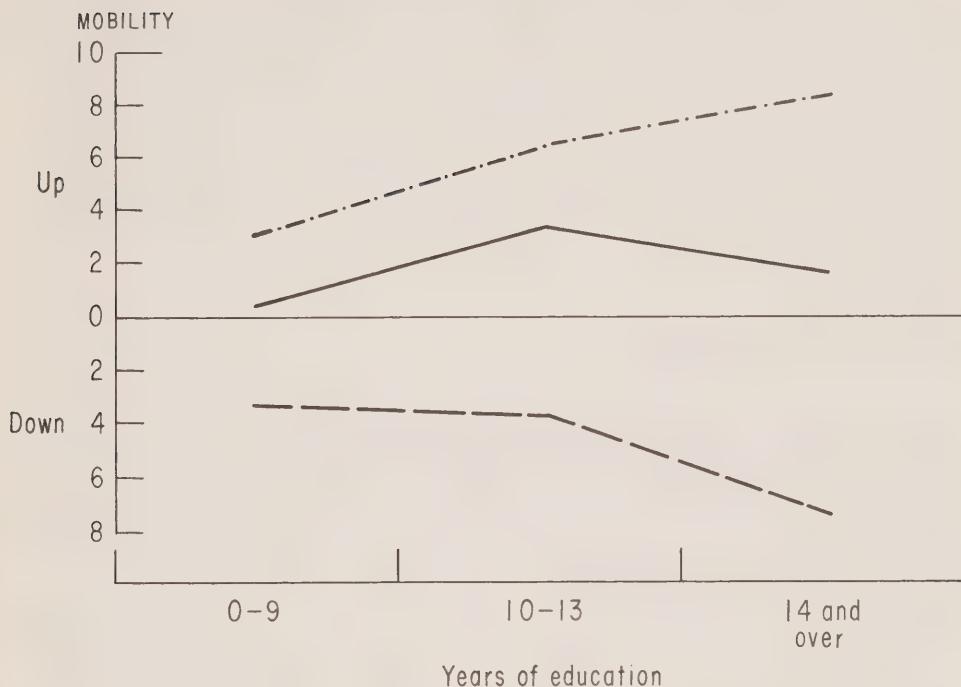
Chart 4.1

INITIAL ADJUSTMENT PROBLEM INDEX BY MOTHER TONGUE
 AGE ON ARRIVAL AND EDUCATION
 METROPOLITAN TORONTO SURVEY, 1970*



comparisons are made, separately, for three education cohorts, *viz*, 0-9 years, 10-13 years and 14 or more years of education.

Chart 4.2
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY BY EDUCATION
METROPOLITAN TORONTO SURVEY, 1970*



*STRATIFIED SAMPLE SURVEY BASED ON 1,939 FOREIGN-BORN MALE RESPONDENTS.

SOURCE: Institute for Behavioural Research, York University.

- - - Blishen Score difference between present occupation and first in Canada.
- Blishen Score difference between present occupation and occupation in former country.
- - - Blishen Score difference between first occupation in Canada and occupation in former country.

Table 4.3 shows the relative mobility patterns of each of the main foreign-born ethno-linguistic groups. The first column shows the occupational mobility experienced in the former country compared with the status of the migrant's father. The second column indicates the average occupational status of the immigrants in the former country; the third column, the extent of occupational status decline upon arrival in Canada; the fourth column, the typical pattern of mobility after arrival in Canada; and the last column the mean occupational status of these immigrant groups at the time of the survey in 1970. It is evident that downward social mobility on arrival was particularly marked among Slavic, Jewish, "other" Europeans,

together with the Black and Asian immigrants. When occupational status in former country is compared with the status in Canada in 1970, most of the ethno-linguistic groups concerned were at approximately the same level, on average, with the exception of those whose mother tongue was English who appeared to have experienced some improvement in occupational status and were now at a higher level.

The evidence from both the national and the Toronto studies suggests that the first two or three years in Canada are crucial for the process of economic adjustment and recovery of occupational status. After that, length of residence makes comparatively little difference either to the occupational status or to the income earned by the immigrants. In fact, given that (for Canadian- and foreign-born alike) peak earnings are achieved in middle age and decline as a person grows older (with a substantial drop at retirement), those who have been in Canada longest tend to earn less than those resident between 10 and 20 years, even after allowance is made for education, etc.

Acculturation and Social Integration

For those whose mother tongue is not English, acculturation involves learning either English or French. For all immigrants, irrespective of mother tongue, acculturation also involves acquiring a knowledge of Canadian symbols, institutions and personalities, and some modification of attitudes, values and behaviour patterns to conform with Canadian expectations in the particular regions and subcultures in which immigrants are living.

The national survey conducted in 1961 noted that comparatively few post-war immigrants were being absorbed into the French-speaking sector of the population.

If residence in French Canada and the capacity to speak the language fluently were regarded as criteria, not more than 6 per cent of post-war immigrants were in this category, two-thirds of all immigrants were fluent in English, which left more than a quarter who, in terms of language, were not fully absorbed in either the English- or French-speaking sectors of the population (Richmond 1967, p. 155).

The study also noted that about a third of the immigrants belonged to associations mainly attended by the Canadian-born and two-thirds had close friends who were Canadian-born. Only one in six belonged to associations mainly attended by persons from their own former country and one in five had close friends exclusively from their former country.

The evidence from the national study suggested that although length of residence was one factor influencing the degree of acculturation and social integration, this appeared to be less important than the level of education of the immigrant. This conclusion was confirmed by the more recent study in Metropolitan Toronto. Although fluency in English, knowledge of Canadian symbols, personalities and institutions, membership of Canadian voluntary associations, and the number of close friends who were of different ethnic origin from the respondent, all increased with length of residence, the latter was less influential than education. The higher the education of the immigrant, the more rapidly he acculturated and the more likely it was that he would participate in voluntary associations of various kinds (including ethnic organizations). Better educated immigrants also had more

TABLE 4.3
METROPOLITAN TORONTO SURVEY, 1970*

RELATIVE MOBILITY PATTERNS BY FOREIGN-BORN ETHNO-LINGUISTIC GROUPS

	Intergenerational Mobility in former country	Occupational status in former country	Status decline upon arrival in Canada	Mobility in Canada	Present status
English mother tongue	Up	Middle	Slight	Strongly upward, continuing	High
Slavic mother tongue	Down	Low	Severe	Strongly upward, levelling off	Low
Jewish	Down	Middle	Severe	Very strongly upward, levelling off	Middle
Italian mother tongue	Down	Low	Moderate	Moderately upward	Low
Western European mother tongue	Down	Middle	Slight-moderate	Strongly upward, levelling off	Middle
Greek or Portuguese mother tongue	Down	Low	Moderate	Moderately upward	Low
Other mother tongue	Up	Middle	Severe	Strongly upward, continuing	Middle
Asian or Black	Up	High	Severe	Moderately upward, levelling off	High

* Stratified sample based on 1,939 foreign-born male respondents

Source: Institute for Behavioural Research, York University

heterogeneous friendship networks, consisting of people who were Canadian-born and members of different ethnic groups (Goldlust and Richmond 1974). The national survey concluded:

Given the ideological emphasis in Canada upon cultural pluralism it would have been surprising to find post-war immigrants becoming quickly assimilated into either one of the dominant ethnic groups. Nevertheless the tendency would appear to be for the better educated to become absorbed into the English-speaking sector of the Canadian population, leaving a hard core whose ethnic separation was not so much a voluntary matter as a product of their low level of literacy, fluency and education (Richmond 1967, p. 156).

In the light of more recent studies of ethnic residential segregation in Metropolitan Toronto, the above conclusion requires some modification. The Metropolitan Toronto Survey, 1970 showed that the Jewish population of Toronto was the most ethnically segregated. Jewish households were also among the most affluent, indicating that low socio-economic status was not a necessary condition of residential concentration. On the basis of a detailed examination of factors associated with residential concentrations of ethnic groups, the study concluded as follows:

Although 22 per cent of all householders in Metropolitan Toronto perceived their own neighbourhood as consisting "mainly of people of the same ethnic group as themselves," ethnic diversity is characteristic of most areas and this is preferred by three out of every four heads of household. Generally, areas in which particular ethnic groups are relatively concentrated do not justify description as "ghettos." They rarely consist exclusively of one ethnic or racial group and residence in such a neighbourhood is for the most part a matter of voluntary choice. Nevertheless, anticipation of possible discrimination in the Toronto housing market, mostly affecting the Jewish and non-white minorities, tends to discourage some from venturing outside familiar areas (Richmond 1972b, p. 59).

It has been noted already that the Black and Asian minorities were most likely to report personal experience of discrimination in the housing market. However, this study showed that ethnic discrimination was *not* the major determinant of ethnic residential segregation. Many influences were at work, including the rapid growth of Metropolitan Toronto itself and the "flight to the suburbs" of many Canadian-born householders of Protestant British background. The Alberta survey also showed that a positive preference for living in an area with others of the same ethnic background was more often expressed by the Canadian-born than by immigrants. The Toronto study showed that those most likely actually to live in an area of relative ethnic concentration were averaged-sized family households, particularly those of immigrants who arrived before 1956 or with low socio-economic status. A strong attachment to church or synagogue and the sense of security and belonging, which was derived from having close relatives and friends in the neighbourhood, were among other important influences encouraging ethnic residential concentration.

Close-knit primary-group relationships with kith and kin were characteristic of the Jewish community in Toronto and also of those nationalities who depended upon a "chain migration" of nominated relatives. These included, among others, the Italian, Greek, Portuguese. In some cases these social networks were neighbourhood-based but, given the ease of transportation and communication

today, they were often sustained even after the immigrants had dispersed to the suburbs. Whether rooted in a particular neighbourhood or not, such close-knit family and friendship networks performed important functions for the immigrants, assisting them to adapt to urban life in Canada. They were an important source of economic and moral support for recently arrived immigrants and eased the transition into the wider society. The younger and better educated immigrants might eventually become independent of these ethnic community ties, but for the older immigrants, and those who had been resident for long periods in the same neighbourhood, reliance upon relatives and friends, together with ethnic churches, stores, and places of recreation was greater.

A study carried out in 1969 in the central city areas of Toronto designated as urban renewal or, more accurately, "long-term improvement areas", showed that many of these areas had a very high proportion of foreign-born householders. Those who showed the strongest attachment to these neighbourhoods were the immigrants with low education in the middle and older age groups. Problems would be created by the enforcement of zoning regulations (particularly by-laws relating to multiple or non-family occupations); the remodelling of cheap rental accommodation for sale as fashionable "townhouses"; the destruction of residential areas or recreational amenities in anticipation of freeway extensions or rapid transit; the rehabilitation of old houses by the enforcement of standards beyond the means of existing inhabitants, etc. Together with the spot clearance of pockets of poor housing in certain neighbourhoods, these actions could create a serious conflict of interest between the residents of such areas (whether Canadian or foreign-born) and the planning authorities. The study concluded:

Although not exhibiting many of the characteristics associated with high economic success and middle-class social status, the immigrants in the urban renewal areas surveyed appeared to be successfully integrating themselves into local, working-class and ethnic subcultures in which their own goals were being effectively achieved. This was evidenced by the high level of satisfaction expressed by the immigrant respondents as far as housing, neighbourhood and jobs were concerned. . . . However, this does not preclude the probability that as the foreign-born residents of these potential urban renewal areas get older, become more acculturated and identify with Canadian norms and values, conflicts which are now only latent will become more evident and may manifest themselves in opposition to official plans (Neumann, Mezoff, and Richmond 1973, pp. 97-8).

Housewives and Children

Although economic necessity generally ensures that the male household head generally achieves some degree of acculturation and social integration into Canadian society, immigrant housewives (particularly those with poor education) tend to be socially isolated and much less likely to learn one of the official languages of Canada. In turn, this retards their acculturation in other ways and may bring about conflicts between them and other members of their own family, particularly children growing up in Canada and being exposed to different values and expectations from those approved by parents.

Studies of the socialization of Italian immigrant children in Toronto suggest that conflict between generations may not be as great as earlier studies of Italian families

in the United States suggested (Child 1943). Italian families who have come to Toronto since the end of the Second World War are highly motivated toward economic success for themselves and their children. They are aware of the importance of education as a means to this end and generally encourage sons (but not always daughters) to remain in school as long as possible. Nevertheless, the cost of higher education and the necessity of foregoing earnings while in full-time education places Italian children, and others in low-income families, at a disadvantage relative to middle-class families, whether immigrant or Canadian-born. In Toronto, important differences were found in the perception of inter-generational conflict and in the attitudes of mothers, according to their degree of linguistic acculturation to Canada.

There appears to be a profound difference in the fundamental orientation of more acculturated and of less acculturated Italian mothers to the possibility of conflict between themselves and their sons. The more acculturated mothers are, on the whole, more prepared to accept the existence of conflict openly, they are more tolerant to the possibility of conflict in their relationship with their young adolescent sons. They assert the norms which they represent more confidently in the face of recognized opposition from their sons. The satisfaction of these norms appears to take precedence over the achievement of an appearance of interpersonal harmony. The less acculturated mothers, on the other hand, appear to attach more importance to maintaining a belief in the existence of harmony between themselves and their sons, even at the cost of misunderstanding the sons' position (Danziger 1971, p. 144).

Studies of immigrant women with pre-school children demonstrate the problems facing young housewives (whose mother tongue is not English) endeavouring to adapt to Canadian society. The Ontario government started some experimental classes, for Greek and Italian mothers in 1968. Volunteer teachers provided crèche facilities for children and English classes for mothers, several mornings a week. Research with the mothers attending classes, and a control group of non-attenders from the same neighbourhood, showed that, on the whole, the Italian women were integrating more effectively than the Greek, but this was partly due to a longer period of residence in Canada. Both groups benefitted from the classes but there was a tendency for some women to leave the classes because employment in unskilled occupations could be obtained where the majority of fellow workers were of the same nationality. It was also noted that immigrant mothers often reacted to the situation of being in a strange, urban foreign environment (such as Toronto appeared to them) by over-protecting their children. This frequently generated problems for the children starting school. Unfortunately, few teachers or social workers have adequate linguistic skills to communicate with the immigrant parents (Nagata *et al.* 1970).

Satisfaction with Life in Canada

Satisfaction with life in Canada on the part of immigrants is closely related to their original expectations. These, in turn, are influenced by the reliability of the information they received before departure. Such information may have come from official Canadian government sources, travel agencies, church and welfare organizations, and from friends and relatives already in Canada. The national survey carried out in 1961 suggested that church and welfare organizations were the

most reliable source of information and that the largest single source of misleading information was the Canadian government. The reliability of information provided by Canadian immigration officials abroad has probably improved since that date. Immigration officials themselves often complain that, even when prospective immigrants are given a realistic view of the problems and difficulties that they may face in Canada, these are not understood or believed by those who have already made up their minds that Canada is some kind of *El Dorado*. Nevertheless, there have been times when federal and provincial authorities have engaged in deliberate promotional campaigns, in Britain and elsewhere, that have tended to paint an idealistic view of life in this country. In the 1961 survey, about a quarter of all immigrants said they found earning a living in Canada more difficult than they expected and about one in five that life in Canada was generally less interesting than they expected (Richmond 1967, p. 160).

Another major factor influencing satisfaction is the *relative* improvement in the material standard of living consequent upon migration. Immigrants from Britain and Europe who came to Canada shortly after the end of the Second World War, when rationing and material deprivations were still acute, experienced a more substantial increment in their standard of living than those who came later, when the economies of Britain and western Europe had recovered from the war. In more recent years, immigrants from the poorer rural part of southern Europe have experienced a larger relative improvement than those coming from Britain, western Europe, or the United States. Satisfaction tends to be lowest in the first few years after arrival, particularly among those who have experienced some downward social mobility and difficulties in obtaining recognition for their qualifications, etc. Absolute, as well as relative, deprivation may contribute to dissatisfaction, particularly if this takes the form of prolonged unemployment and low income.

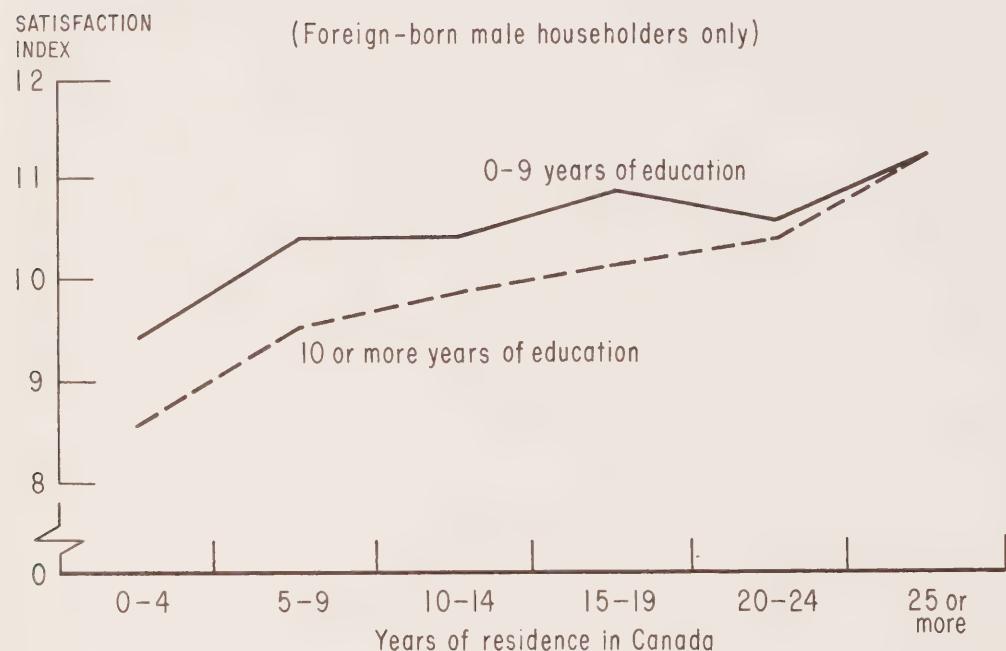
However, it would be a mistake to assume that satisfaction is wholly a question of economic achievement. Among the non-economic determinants of satisfaction are relationships with family and friends.

Immigrants who never saw any of their close relatives apart from their immediate family had a significantly lower level of satisfaction than others. . . . The same tendency was found among British and non-British immigrants in both the Vancouver and national samples. In contrast, immigrants who saw both their own relatives and their in-laws frequently (i.e. once in a month or more often) had a significantly higher level of satisfaction (53 per cent in the national sample). . . . Other social relationships in the community also appear to have contributed to the level of satisfaction. Social isolates (i.e. those who did not claim close friends of any nationality), whether they were British or non-British, appeared to have a high incidence of dissatisfaction in both the national and Vancouver samples. Immigrants who claimed that they had Canadian-born persons as close friends had a higher level of satisfaction than those who had no Canadian friends, even if the latter had friends from their former country or from other countries. In the national sample the highest level of satisfaction (44 per cent) appeared to be found for those who had close friends among Canadians, their former countryman and immigrants from other countries (Richmond 1967, pp. 173-5).

These conclusions were confirmed in the more recent study carried out in Metropolitan Toronto. An index of satisfaction was devised based upon answers to questions concerning satisfaction with employment, housing and neighbourhood,

combined with other items concerned with the relative improvement in the immigrant's material standard of living and social position compared with the former country. Satisfaction increased with length of residence but was higher among those with low education and socio-economic status than among those with high status and education. This is shown in Chart 4.3. It should be noted that only after twenty-five years residence in Canada does the level of satisfaction of those with ten or more years of education reach as high a level as that of the less educated immigrants.

Chart 4.3
SATISFACTION INDEX BY YEARS OF EDUCATION
AND LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN CANADA
METROPOLITAN TORONTO SURVEY, 1970*



*STRATIFIED SAMPLE BASED ON 1,939 FOREIGN-BORN MALE RESPONDENTS.

SOURCE: Institute for Behavioural Research, York University.

The evidence from the national survey suggested that immigrants in Vancouver and Toronto were less satisfied than those in other parts of Canada. There may have been some differences in the ethnic composition and educational level of immigrants in these cities compared with the rest of Canada which, in turn, may have influenced expectations and levels of aspiration. There may also have been objective causes for greater dissatisfaction in Toronto and Vancouver related to differences in the economic and social conditions prevailing at the time of the survey. In particular, the levels of unemployment, and the difficulties that some professional

and skilled workers had in obtaining employment in their own occupations, may possibly have contributed to the lower levels of satisfaction in these cities. It was noted earlier that the initial adjustment problems of non-British immigrants in Toronto were more frequent than in Calgary and Edmonton, which may also help to explain the lower level of satisfaction in Toronto.

CITIZENSHIP AND COMMITMENT TO CANADA

Data from the 1971 census concerning citizenship were not available at the time of writing. However, an analysis of the 1961 census showed that, of those arriving between 1951 and 1955 (i.e. those who had a minimum of five years residence by 1961 and were eligible for citizenship), there were significant differences in the propensity to be naturalized, according to birthplace, ethnic origin, age, education, occupation and region of residence (Kalbach 1970, pp. 337-92). Immigrants from eastern European countries were most likely to be Canadian citizens by the time of the 1961 census. The least likely were immigrants from Britain, Commonwealth countries, the United States and western Europe. It should be noted that British subjects are able to enjoy the reciprocal right to vote, and various other privileges, without becoming Canadian citizens. They are also able to retain dual citizenship of the United Kingdom and Canada if they do so. In contrast, citizens of the United States and some other countries lost their original citizenship if they became naturalized Canadians. Immigrants from some other countries may have to relinquish pension and other earned benefits if they change their nationality. Therefore it is evident that there were differential constraints upon people encouraging or discouraging them from taking out citizenship. Those who came as refugees, particularly stateless persons, were most likely to become naturalized at the earliest opportunity. Those who paid frequent visits to their former country for business or other purposes, or expected to retire there, were least likely to do so.

Evidence from the Toronto and Alberta surveys provides more up-to-date information on naturalization and the intentions of those who had not then become Canadian citizens. This is shown in Tables 5.1 and 5.2. It is clear that those whose mother tongue was English, together with the Black and Asian immigrants, were the least likely to become citizens, while the Jewish and Slavic groups had the greatest propensity to do so. However, in the Toronto survey, the rank order correlation between those who had become citizens and those expressing a firm intention of doing so, when eligible, was only 0.42, suggesting that the factors that influence recent immigrants to become naturalized may not be the same as those which applied to earlier arrivals. The greater educational selectivity, since the "points" system of determining admissibility was introduced in 1967, may lower the proportion who become citizens, unless the regulations and requirements are changed, or pressures and persuasion not experienced by earlier immigrants are applied in the future.

Until recently, the government has not considered it necessary or desirable to advertise extensively, or otherwise bring pressure on immigrants to take out naturalization papers. However, a limited informational campaign was instituted in 1973. This coincided with a resurgence of nationalism in certain sections of the population, notably among students and academics. An Ontario government select committee on economic and cultural nationalism recently recommended that universities should increase the proportion of Canadian citizens on its faculties and urged that, if voluntary compliance proves insufficient, legislation should be introduced to compel universities to appoint Canadians to all senior positions and to

TABLE 5.1
METROPOLITAN TORONTO SURVEY, 1970+
Citizenship and Citizenship Intentions (Foreign-born male householders only)

	Resident in Canada	
	5 Years or more Naturalized Canadian %	Less than 5 years Definitely intend to become naturalized %
Ethno-Linguistic Group		
English mother tongue*	45	31
Slavic mother tongue**	82	64
Jewish***	85	45
Italian mother tongue	49	41
West European****	62	36
Greek & Portuguese mother tongue	45✓	57 ✓
Other mother tongues	68	46
Black and Asian †	27	32
Total	54	38

* Excludes Jewish, Black and Asian with English mother tongue

** Excludes Slavic speakers of Jewish ethnic origin

*** Those reporting Jewish religion, or if 'no religion' reported, parents' religion was Jewish

**** Includes German, French, Dutch or Scandinavian mother tongue

† Interviewer's designation and/or Asian mother tongue

+ Stratified sample based on 1,939 foreign-born respondents

Source: Institute for Behavioural Research, York University

TABLE 5.2
SURVEY OF CALGARY AND EDMONTON, 1971*

Citizenship and Citizenship intentions (All foreign-born householders)

Birthplace	Canadian Citizen %	Definite Intention %	Probably Yes %	Uncertain %	Definitely No %	Total %
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Britain	33	22	12	11	22	100
Other	56	21	6	12	5	100
Total	51	21	8	12	8	100

* Stratified sample based on 900 respondents, conducted by Alberta Human Resources Council

Source: Institute for Behavioural Research, York University

make the proportion of citizens hired over the next seven years at least 80 per cent. Clearly, if such pressure is brought to bear on universities, it may, in due course, be extended to other employers and represent a significant departure from the more liberal position, with regard to citizenship, that Canada has maintained in the past. It may increase the proportion of immigrants applying for citizenship for purely mercenary reasons but it will not increase genuine commitment to this country. On the contrary, it may easily alienate many immigrants who are attracted to Canada precisely because, in contrast to some other countries, it has a reputation for liberal and unchauvinistic attitudes toward questions of ethnicity and nationality.

The survey carried out in 1971 by the Alberta Human Resources Council, in Calgary and Edmonton, asked immigrants to give reasons why they thought some people did not become Canadian citizens. The question was asked of all foreign-born householders in the sample, irrespective of whether the respondent had actually become naturalized or not. The responses are shown in Table 5.3 (percentages add to more than a hundred because some people gave more than one reason). Aside from a miscellaneous range of answers (many of them personal and idiosyncratic), it is evident that plans to return to their former country and not wishing to break their ties are most often seen as the reasons for not becoming a citizen. Seeing no positive advantage in doing so was next in importance, followed by a preference for retaining the old passport. A positive rejection of Canadian identity was perceived as a reason by only 14 per cent of the immigrants.

TABLE 5.3
SURVEY OF CALGARY AND EDMONTON, 1971*

Reasons why some people do not take out Canadian Citizenship
(All foreign-born householders)

	Per cent Mentioning**					
	Plan to return to old country	Not wish to break ties	Reject Canadian Identity	Prefers old passport	No advantage	Other Reason
Birthplace						
Britain	27	40	15	14	31	47
Other	41	25	14	18	24	47
Total	37	29	14	16	26	47

* Stratified random sample based on 900 respondents, conducted by Alberta Human Resources Council

** Percentages add to more than 100 because more than one reason given by some respondents

Source: Institute for Behavioural Research, York University

In addition to completing five years residence in Canada, prospective citizens are required to show evidence of good character, demonstrate an adequate knowledge

of English and French and of the responsibilities and privileges of Canadian citizenship. Generally, this means demonstrating some knowledge of Canadian history, etc. There is evidence that older people and the less well educated have greater difficulty in meeting the language requirements and demonstrating a knowledge of Canadian history and institutions. The 1961 census showed that educational attainment was positively related to citizenship for immigrants who had come from central, eastern, and southern European countries. The reverse was the case for immigrants from the United States, the United Kingdom and other Commonwealth countries. Regional differences in the propensity to become a citizen were small and differences between metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas depended on a variety of circumstances. This led to the conclusion that "the relevance of area of residence for acquiring citizenship is a complex function of the cultural, social, economic and psychological characteristics of the immigrants in relation to the characteristics of the populations and opportunities within their areas of settlement" (Kalbach 1970, p. 422).

Further light on the factors associated with the propensity to become naturalized may be derived from the 1961 national survey. As well as obtaining information concerning present nationality from those who were eligible to become citizens, this study also ascertained the *intentions* of those who had been resident less than five years and of those who, although eligible, had not yet become citizens. The study confirmed the low propensity of immigrants from Britain and western Europe and the much greater likelihood of refugees and others from eastern Europe becoming citizens. The evidence also suggested that those who were well satisfied with life in Canada, those whose expectations with regard to earning a living had been fulfilled, or more than fulfilled and who found life in Canada interesting, and those whose standard of living was very much higher than before, were all positive in their attitudes toward citizenship. Upward mobility compared with their occupation prior to migration was associated with positive intentions, but so also was downward mobility. Those who remained at the same level were least likely to become naturalized.

The study concluded that the most important factor contributing to a high rate of naturalization was the need to make a radical break with the way of life that the immigrant had pursued in his former country. The low propensity to become naturalized on the part of those immigrating from the United Kingdom and the United States, may be understood in terms of the degree of effort that was required to adapt to life in Canada. Particularly if they retained the same occupational position after migration, such immigrants experienced very little change in their way of life. They did not have to learn a new language, they were able to retain close connections with family and friends at home, and their sense of personal identity was hardly affected by their migration. The opposite was the case for immigrants from Europe and elsewhere.

For such immigrants life in Canada was a complete contrast with the way of life they had previously experienced, and a tremendous effort was involved in the process of adaptation. Learning the language was one of the most important elements in this, and it was also the process by which the immigrant became acculturated to the new country and learned to identify with Canada. The experience of learning the new language and citizenship education went together in formal language classes (Richmond 1967, p. 225).

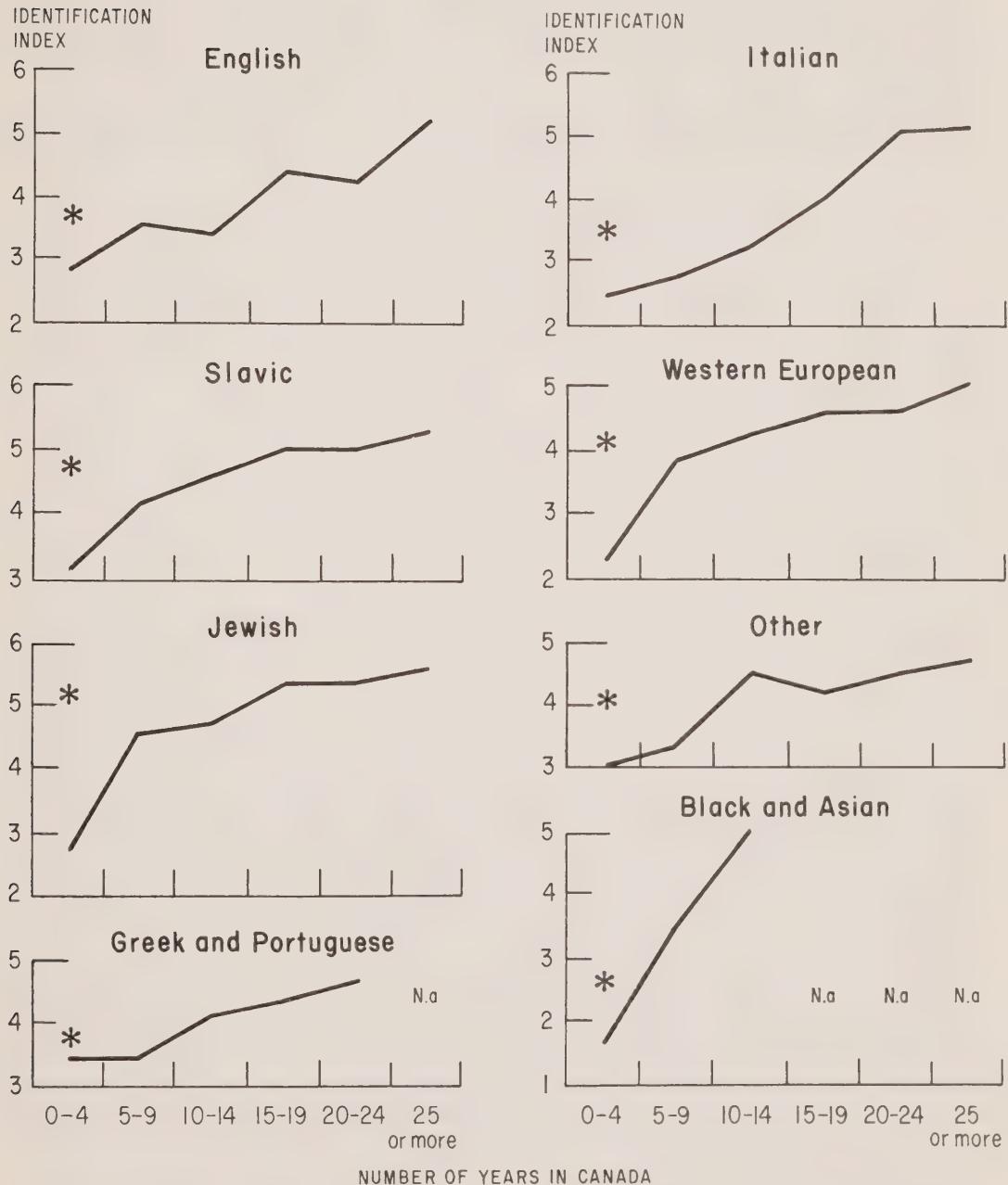
The extent to which naturalization symbolized a positive commitment to permanent residence and a sense of belonging to Canada varied considerably. As has been noted, the constraints upon individuals to become citizens differed according to nationality and auspices of immigration. For some, it was a necessary condition of employment, for example, in the government service, and for others a requirement for membership in a professional association. In some cases, a Canadian passport was merely a convenient facility when travelling to the United States and elsewhere. However, there were many people who felt a strong commitment to Canada without feeling any necessity to become a citizen. By the same token, some who were citizens did not necessarily identify strongly with the country.

In the Metropolitan Toronto Survey, 1970, an index of identification with Canada was devised. Canadian citizenship, for those resident more than five years, or a positive intention to become naturalized for those not yet eligible, was a component of this index. However, other correlated factors were used in compiling the index. These included whether Canada was considered "home;" whether they expected to settle permanently in Canada; whether they felt fully Canadian or felt they belonged more to the old country; and whether they would support a Canadian sports team against one from their former country. The index has a range from 0 to 6 and was a reliable indicator of identification with and commitment to Canada.

Length of residence proved to be the single most important determinant of identification with and commitment to Canada (Goldlust and Richmond 1973c). After 20 years of residence there was no significant difference between immigrants, regardless of birthplace and ethnic origin. This is shown in Chart 5.1. Slavic and Jewish immigrants achieved a high degree of commitment to Canada more rapidly than those from other countries. Italian immigrants were slower in identifying. The direct effects of education were negative. That is to say, the more highly educated the immigrant, the less the identification with and commitment to Canada. However, the indirect effects of education were more positive. Education facilitated acculturation, including a more rapid acquisition of English, which increased identification with Canada. Among English-speaking immigrants, other factors associated positively with identification and commitment were satisfaction and participation in voluntary associations. Among immigrants whose mother tongue was not English, satisfaction and acculturation were associated with identification. Low English fluency, reliance on ethnic media and having most of one's friends in the same ethnic group, were negatively associated with commitment to Canada. In the first few years of residence, having many close relatives in Toronto was negatively associated with commitment, but after twenty years of residence this was a positive influence. It seems likely that the difference was due to having children and grandchildren growing up in Canada.

One of the most surprising findings of the Metropolitan Toronto Survey was the low level of commitment of those who were of white Anglo-Saxon Protestant background. One might have supposed that, given the influence of the dominant British charter group in Canada, English-speaking Protestants would have been able to identify more readily than others. In fact, Catholics, Jews and those of eastern Orthodox religion were much more strongly committed to Canada than Protestants, particularly those from Britain. This suggests that the cultural pluralism

Chart 5.1
IDENTIFICATION INDEX BY ETHNOLINGUISTIC GROUP
AND LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN CANADA
 METROPOLITAN TORONTO SURVEY, 1970⁽ⁱ⁾



*MEAN SCORE FOR GROUP

(i) STRATIFIED SAMPLE SURVEY BASED ON 1,939 FOREIGN-BORN MALE RESPONDENTS.

SOURCE: Institute for Behavioural Research, York University.

and emphasis upon multiculturalism, which have been characteristic of Canada in recent years, is conducive to a greater commitment on the part of ethnic minority groups.

The Metropolitan Toronto Survey showed that highest levels of commitment were to be found among immigrants resident 20 years or more who saw close relatives often. They were followed by immigrants, resident between 10 and 19 years, whose mother tongue was neither English nor Italian and who showed little reliance on ethnic media. At the opposite end of the scale were immigrants of different nationalities, resident less than five years, who exhibited low levels of satisfaction, poor social integration and had experienced some initial adjustment problems. Between these two extremes were various combinations of period of residence with other factors which contributed to moderate degrees of commitment.

In a pluralistic society such as Canada, commitment may be independent of the way in which an individual defines his own ethnic identity. Questions were asked in the Metropolitan Toronto Survey designed to ascertain how householders defined their own ethnic identity, as distinct from the definition used in the census which depends upon paternal ancestry. Among those born in Canada, 39 per cent defined their ethnic identity as "Canadian" without qualification, compared with 14 per cent of the foreign-born householders. A further 10 per cent of the Canadian-born and 7 per cent of the foreign-born used a hyphenated Canadian term to describe themselves. Of those born in Canada, 37 per cent described themselves as "British" compared with 23 per cent of the immigrant householders. Those most likely to describe themselves as "Canadian", without qualification were born in this country of Canadian-born parents who were of neither British nor French paternal ancestry. Fifty-three per cent of this group called themselves Canadian without qualification. Among immigrants, the propensity to describe their ethnic identity as "Canadian" was highest among those from west European countries. Other factors associated with a greater probability of adopting a Canadian ethnic identity were: being a child on arrival here, coming here for political reasons, and scoring low on a Bogardus social distance scale. The latter indicated a greater propensity to marry into, or to mix socially, with other ethnic groups. In contrast, ethnic minorities concerned with the preservation of their own culture and group identity were less inclined to call themselves Canadian, when asked their ethnicity. Thus, for example, despite a high level of commitment to Canada, Jewish immigrants and those of eastern Orthodox religion were less likely than others to define their own ethnic identities in Canadian terms (Richmond 1973).

The importance of distinguishing between citizenship, nationality and ethnic identity is evident from the Alberta study. In addition to ascertaining the birthplace and citizenship of the respondent, two further questions were asked. Firstly, "What is your nationality?" Secondly, "What ethnic group do you belong to?" The reply, "Canadian" was possible to all these questions and the proportions giving this response by birthplace are shown in Table 5.4. Among those born in Canada, one in three did not consider their nationality to be Canadian; the most frequent responses were "British", "French" and "Ukrainian". Only one in five of those born here considered their ethnic identity to be Canadian. The most common responses were "British", "German" and "Ukrainian". However, one in three of the householders did not understand what was meant by "ethnic group", or were otherwise unable to answer the question. In other words, although the idea of citizenship and nationality

was understood by almost everyone, ethnicity was a less salient or meaningful concept for them.

TABLE 5.4
SURVEY OF CALGARY AND EDMONTON, 1971*

Per cent describing themselves as 'Canadian' by birthplace

	Canadian Citizen %	Canadian Nationality %	Canadian Ethnic Group %
Birthplace			
Alberta	100	62	20
Rest of Canada	100	65	20
Britain	32	19	5
Elsewhere	57	27	3
Total	89	55	16

* Stratified sample of householders based on 900 respondents; conducted by Alberta Human Resources Council

Source: Institute for Behavioural Research, York University

Identification with and commitment to a pluralistic society such as ours which is promoting policies of multiculturalism, is not incompatible with the maintenance of separate national or ethnic identity. On the contrary, the possibility of maintaining such distinctive identities may be one of the factors conducive to a high level of commitment among minority groups. The obverse does not necessarily follow. It is unlikely that the pluralistic nature of our society is responsible for the relatively low commitment of the English-speaking Protestant group. It seems more likely that English-speaking Protestant immigrants are part of an increasingly mobile section of the world's population that does not readily put down roots in any one country. Educational qualifications, professional and technical skills that are needed and readily accepted in many countries, combined with the comparatively smooth transition from their native land and subsequent reintegration to it, are more important determinants. Even when they do not settle permanently and exhibit a low commitment to Canada while resident here, such immigrants may, nevertheless, make an important contribution economically and in other ways. They exhibit one of the many different modes of adaptation to Canadian society.

MODES OF IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION TO CANADA

Canada is not a homogeneous society with a single way of life. The life styles of a Newfoundland fisherman, a prairie farmer, an automobile mechanic, a school teacher, and an executive of a large company all differ from each other as much, or more, than those of immigrants differ from those born here. Internal migrants moving from one part of Canada to another may find that they must adapt almost as much as immigrants coming from other countries. There are many different elements in the Canadian kaleidoscope into which immigrants may fit. They have some choice, for example, in the region or locality in which they choose to settle. To a greater extent their choices are limited by their education, qualifications and degree of acculturation. Further constraints are imposed by employment opportunities in Canada and by the other situational factors discussed above, including the degree of acceptance by Canadians.

A typology of male immigrant adaptation can be outlined by considering education, length of residence, and the immigrants' own attitudes toward the maintenance of ethnic social distance and the retention of their language and culture. The following characteristic types are based on research in Toronto but they are probably found, in different proportions, anywhere in Canada (Goldlust and Richmond 1973b).

Urban Villagers

Approximately one in three of the foreign-born householders in Toronto fall into this category. Typically, such an immigrant has less than 10 years of formal education and has been resident in Canada more than five years. It is likely he came from a farm, village, or small town and was probably nominated by a close relative, or came with a government-sponsored group movement to work in agriculture; he quickly moved to Toronto, where he has been employed in construction or manufacturing industry in an unskilled or semi-skilled capacity. His income and occupational status are low by Canadian standards, but he experiences a sense of relative gratification compared with the material standard he achieved in his former country. His knowledge of English and general acculturation are still poor. He relies to a large extent on the ethnic press and radio. However, he has a close-knit social network of kith and kin, with whom he interacts frequently, and who are similar to himself in most respects. If he was not married on arrival in Canada, he has probably married someone from his former country or someone who is similar to himself in terms of ethnic and social background. He may belong to a labour union but is not active in other organizations. He has bought a house in Toronto and put down roots in his neighbourhood where many of his friends and family also live. He is very satisfied with life in Canada and feels committed to permanent residence. As his children grow up here, he will probably feel he should become a naturalized Canadian.

Anglo-Canadian Conformists

Approximately a third of the foreign-born householders in Toronto fall into this category. They include the majority of those with average or higher education who have been resident in Canada five years or more and who maintain low ethnic social distance. That is to say, they have a somewhat cosmopolitan outlook and favour cultural assimilation rather than pluralism. Typically, such an immigrant came here as a child or young adult and, if not already English-speaking, quickly acquired fluency and a high level of acculturation. He has higher educational qualifications obtained, or readily accepted, in Canada to qualify for a skilled technical or professional position. His occupational status and income are above average. He belongs to various organizations in which he takes an active part. He has a heterogeneous social network and is likely to marry someone born in Canada, or of a different ethnic origin from himself. He has little contact with kin other than his own immediate family. Initially, he may rent an apartment or townhouse but, even after purchasing a home, he tends to be more mobile and not as rooted in his neighbourhood as others. He is moderately satisfied with life here and committed to permanent residence. He identifies strongly with Canada and is likely to become naturalized.

Pluralistically Integrated (1)

Approximately one in 10 foreign-born householders in Toronto are in this category. Typically, such an immigrant has more than 10 years of education and often some post-secondary professional or technical qualification. He has lived in Canada 10 years or more, possibly having come as a refugee or for political reasons. He places considerable emphasis on the importance of retaining some aspects of his former linguistic, cultural or religious heritage and continues to use his mother tongue at home. He may have experienced some discrimination and difficulty in obtaining recognition for his qualifications, at first, causing some initial status dislocation from which he has now partially or fully recovered. He has an average or high occupational status and income and has experienced upward occupational status mobility in Canada compared with his first employment here. He also feels that his social position has improved compared with that in his former country. He has friends and relatives in Canada and his primary social network is relatively homogeneous and inter-related. He has bought a house and is strongly attached to his present neighbourhood. He belongs to various organizations in which he is active, one of them probably being an ethnic association. He is highly satisfied with life in Canada and feels permanently committed to it, having probably become a citizen. However, he defines his own ethnic identity in other than Canadian nationalistic terms.

Transilient (2)

Approximately one in six of the foreign-born householders in Toronto are in this category. Typically, such an immigrant has an above-average level of education and has been resident in Canada for less than five years. Such an immigrant generally has some prior knowledge of English, if it is not his mother tongue, giving rise to

rapid acculturation. However, he does not initially expect to settle permanently in Canada. If his qualifications are accepted in Canada, such an immigrant moves quickly into a position carrying high occupational status and income, although he may experience some initial status dislocation. He tends to join organizations connected with his work or recreation. He has few close relatives in Toronto and his friendship network tends to be quite heterogeneous from an ethnic and social point of view. He is more likely to rent an apartment than buy a house and exhibits a high propensity to move, either elsewhere in Canada, to another country, or to return to his former country. He does not consider that his occupational status or social position has improved as a consequence of migration. He exhibits low identification with and commitment to Canada. His satisfaction level will be average or below average depending upon the degree to which his short run expectations of achievement in Canada have been fulfilled. Such an immigrant may make an important contribution economically for the duration of his residence in Canada, but is unlikely to settle permanently or become a Canadian citizen. When such immigrants find that their qualifications are not accepted and that they must accept employment at levels below that in the former country, they may be quite frustrated and dissatisfied.

Alienated

Less than one in 25 immigrant *householders* in Toronto were in this category, but it is more typical of those who are in lodgings or otherwise not maintaining their own households. Typically, such an immigrant has less than 10 years of education and has been living in Canada for less than five years. He probably came to Canada because he was nominated by a close relative or as a visitor who stayed on without obtaining landed-immigrant status. During his short residence he has acquired little or no English and in other respects has not acculturated. He is probably still renting accommodation in a rooming house or staying with a relative. He may be single, or if married his family may still be in the former country. He may be somewhat isolated socially and his friendship network closely connected and made up of people similar to himself. He is employed in an unskilled capacity at low wages, frequently changing jobs and experiencing considerable unemployment. He does not belong to a labour union or any other organization. His occupational status and income are very low and he has experienced downward mobility compared with his former country. He feels that he is materially very much worse off than other Canadians and compared with the circumstances in his former country. He feels very dissatisfied with life in Canada and does not identify with the new country. He has not put down roots in any neighbourhood and may move frequently looking for work or cheaper accommodation. If he could raise the money he might remigrate or return to his former country. However, he is reluctant to return as a "failure", so he may remain, hoping his situation will improve in due course.

The above typology of different modes of adaptation to life in Canada is an oversimplification and does not do justice to the almost infinite variety of different ways in which people may adjust and fit into our rapidly changing economic and social system. The large majority of immigrants have made a satisfactory adjustment and, at the same time, Canadian society has adapted itself, in a variety of ways, to the presence of immigrants. Nevertheless, more could be done to smooth

the transition from the old country to the new. Frustration and dissatisfaction are highest among those who experience difficulty in obtaining employment commensurate with their education and qualifications, or who experience other forms of discrimination in Canada.

There are many immigrants, particularly those with low education, who have been nominated by close relatives, who, culturally and socially, have not been absorbed into the mainstream of English-Canadian life (this study does not deal with the situation of immigrants in Quebec but the same considerations probably apply to many Italian and other immigrants in Montreal). However, the pluralistic structure of Canadian society has facilitated the absorption of such immigrants into their own ethnic neighbourhoods and social networks. Such immigrants have a high level of satisfaction and, in due course, identify closely with Canada. The most serious questions concern the future opportunities for the Canadian-born children of such families. Some sociologists place overwhelming importance upon providing equality of opportunity to achieve higher education and occupational status within the highly competitive and hierarchical framework of modern industrial and post-industrial societies (Porter 1965, pp. 72-4; 1968, pp. 5-19). The retention of a language and cultural heritage different from that of the majority, and involvement in close-knit networks of friends and family, are sometimes seen as impediments to social mobility. There is a danger that the children of the less well educated sponsored immigrants (who have filled many of the unskilled and semi-skilled jobs in the rapidly expanding manufacturing and construction sectors of the Canadian economy since the end of the Second World War), may find themselves handicapped by a combination of class and ethnic factors in the future. Assuming equality of opportunity is positively valued in Canada, deliberate steps will have to be taken to overcome these handicaps for those born in Canada. This could mean increased expenditure on English-language training for immigrant adults and children and, also, the provision of more financial assistance to the most able students from less affluent backgrounds, to enable them to continue their education. Needless to say, any vestiges of ethnic discrimination must be removed from all areas of Canadian life.

However, the evidence from various studies of immigrants in Canada does not support the view that all immigrants must conform to a single pattern, in the image of the white middle-class English-speaking section of the population who are of British ethnic origin. Indeed, those immigrants who initially conform most closely to this pattern tend to be the least committed and often most dissatisfied immigrants. The mutual adaptation that has taken place between the dominant British majority and the many different nationalities that have come to this country, has enabled large numbers of immigrants to be absorbed with a minimum of overt conflict. The linguistic and cultural heritages brought here, by successive waves of immigrants, have greatly enriched the Canadian way of life. Multiculturalism, combined with the opportunities to interact with family and friends from their own country, have positively contributed both to satisfaction and eventual identification with and commitment to Canada.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In the sense that approximately one in every three immigrants who entered the country since the end of the Second World War is no longer resident in Canada, we have "absorbed" a little under two and half million people through immigration in that period. At the same time an unknown number of Canadians have emigrated or have lived abroad for a varying number of years. Therefore, the contribution of net migration to population growth has been further reduced. It is likely that such multi-way movements of population throughout the world will continue in the future unless governments place severe restrictions on emigration or immigration. Canadian population and immigration policies in the future must take into account the population explosion in developing countries, the pressure on non-renewable natural resources, especially those relating to energy, and the effects of further industrial and urban growth on pollution and health. Immigrants will still be needed, if only to replace Canadians who leave the country, and appropriate steps should be taken to facilitate the economic and social integration of those who wish to settle permanently. This report has examined some of the factors that have influenced the adaptation of immigrants to Canada.

Canadian Situation

The situational influences on immigrant absorption and adaptation may be summed up as follows. Government policies in the post Second World War period actively promoted immigration from selected countries. Demographic and economic conditions were generally favourable, although the actual numbers admitted annually reflected fluctuations in employment opportunities. Federal, provincial and non-governmental services designed to assist the initial adjustment of immigrants, including language classes, were provided, but on a minimal level. The large majority of immigrants were compelled to make their own way in Canadian society with little institutional support. Immigrants generally gravitated toward the large metropolitan areas where employment opportunities were greatest. Canada's commitment to bilingualism and multiculturalism, at one time implicit and recently made an explicit question of public policy, has permitted many immigrant groups and their Canadian-born descendants to maintain a high degree of cultural and institutional pluralism in these cities. Notwithstanding a generally tolerant attitude towards members of ethnic minorities (including those of Black and Asian origin) as neighbours, latent ethnic prejudices persist and are most marked among the older and less educated sections of the population. Many immigrants experienced difficulty in obtaining recognition for their professional and technical qualifications and those of Black and Asian origin were most likely to report experiences of discrimination in employment, housing, and other spheres. The situation facing immigrants was not uniform throughout the country, although studies carried out in Calgary and Edmonton tend to support those in Toronto concerning the situational influences on immigrant adaptation. As Canada enters the last quarter of the twentieth century, the situation facing immigrants will not necessarily be the same as in the 25 years after the Second World War. In particular, the labour force will be

able to recruit an increasing number and proportion of well educated Canadian-born young adults. There is less consensus today concerning the desirability of rapid economic growth and urban concentration. Housing is becoming scarcer and more expensive in Metropolitan areas. A large number of Black and Asian immigrants may be seen as a threat by the older and less educated sections of the population, and by other recently arrived immigrants, particularly if they appear to be competing for housing and employment. However, the much lower levels of ethnic prejudice expressed by the younger, compared with the older, generation of Canadians is encouraging.

Pre-Migration Characteristics of Immigrants

When "all other things were equal" nationality, race and ethnic origin had little direct influence on the adaptation of immigrants to life in Canada. However, in practice, birthplace tended to coincide with other differences, such as education, which were more influential. Thus, many sponsored and nominated immigrants came from countries in southern Europe and were admissible to Canada, although their educational and occupational qualifications were much lower than the independent stream. Immigrants from Asia and the Caribbean only began to come in significant numbers after the introduction of the "points" system of selection, in 1967, and generally had above-average levels of education.

Level of education had some apparently contradictory effects on adaptation. High education was associated with more rapid acculturation and with higher levels of achievement economically, despite initial set-backs. At the same time the better-educated immigrants tended to be less satisfied with life in Canada and less likely to settle permanently.

Although nominated immigrants were not necessarily motivated by a desire to be with close relatives they were involved in close-knit networks of kith and kin, often forming ethnic concentrations in urban areas. These were rarely of the "ghetto" type and generally appeared to assist the immigrant in the process of social integration, although sometimes retarding acculturation into the Anglophone or Francophone sections of the population.

Immigrants who came to Canada as refugees, or for political reasons, sometimes experienced initial adjustment problems but generally developed a strong commitment to Canada, while at the same time being unusually active in ethnic associations.

The Process and Types of Adaptation

Many immigrants experienced some initial "culture shock" and reported adjustment problems during the first two or three years in Canada. For those whose mother tongue was not English (or French if they settled in Quebec), or who had not acquired a knowledge of one or both of the official languages before migration, language was the most serious difficulty. Other problems frequently reported were finding employment or housing and overcoming feelings of loneliness or social isolation in a big city. Employment problems were aggravated by ethnic discrimination and the non-recognition, in Canada, of various professional and

technical qualifications earned abroad. In Toronto, initial problems of adjustment were most serious for the less well educated non-English-speaking immigrants who arrived over the age of 25 years.

Many immigrants experienced some decline in the occupational status of their first job in Canada compared with that in the former country. Some eventually recovered or improved upon their former position although not necessarily in the type of employment that they had intended to pursue in Canada. The higher the education of the immigrant the greater the probability of an initial decline in status, but also of subsequent recovery. Higher wages and material standards in Canada enabled many immigrants to compensate for the lower status of their employment, compared with the old country.

Acculturation, as measured by use of an official language and knowledge of Canadian symbols, institutions and personalities, was governed by education and length of residence. The same factors also determined the extent to which an immigrant participated in voluntary associations, or made use of cultural or recreational facilities outside his own neighbourhood. Less well educated immigrants relied more heavily on a variety of local social and commercial facilities in their own language and were more dependent on ethnic press and radio.

Commitment to Canada, including permanent residence and citizenship, was also a function of length of residence but was more evident among the *less* than the highly educated. Many immigrants who favoured multiculturalism and wished to retain their own ethnic identity, nevertheless, exhibited a high level of satisfaction with life in Canada and a strong commitment to this country.

Given the wide variety of different ways of life in Canada, corresponding with regional, urban-rural, cultural and social class variations, it is not reasonable to suppose that all immigrants will fit into a single mould. Studies in Toronto suggest that education and length of residence, combined with personal and ethnic preferences for maintaining cultural differences and ethnic social distance, determine the main patterns of immigrant adaptation. Many immigrants, originating in rural areas of southern Europe, have re-created social networks in Canadian cities based on close relatives and others from their own country and region of origin. Although their economic status is low by Canadian standards they are well satisfied and committed to Canada. They may be called *urban villagers*. Others from various parts of the world who have come as independent immigrants or as refugees, and have a higher level of education, can be divided into two main types. They are *anglo-conformists* (or franco-conformists in some parts of Quebec) who seek to assimilate into a Canadian *middle-class* way of life as quickly as possible and others who prefer a *pluralistic* form of social integration, in which *some aspects* of the former language and culture are maintained. There are also the growing number of *translient* migrants who bring valuable skills to the Canadian labour market but who do not plan to settle permanently in Canada. Finally, there is a minority of *alienated* immigrants whose failure to obtain steady employment at a level commensurate with their qualifications combined with social isolation and lack of acculturation generate deep-seated dissatisfaction and stress.

Given the rapidly changing character of Canadian society, and of conditions elsewhere in the world, it cannot be assumed that the factors influencing the absorption of immigrants and their modes of adaptation to life in Canada in recent

years will be repeated necessarily, in the future. Nevertheless, the present study indicates the importance of recognising that the size and character of the immigrant flow is bound to have profound influence on our society in the years to come.

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